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COLONIAL FRANCE

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COLONIAL FRANCE

PREFACE.

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WITHIN the last few months public attention has been directed in a striking manner to England's Colonies; their wealth and their strength are just objects of pride to every loyal Briton, and any action which tends to overshadow their greatness is looked upon as a blow struck at the integrity of the Empire. A certain amount of jealousy has been evinced at the attempts made by other nations to extend their Colonial possessions, and France has come in for no small share of public odium for her freshly-developed views on Colonial expansion. From the Colonial history of France we may learn many a valuable lesson.

The rapidity with which the Colonial Empire founded by Louis XIV. crumbled to pieces under the unskilfully conducted expeditions of our Naval and Military Forces should teach us the necessity for inaugurating such a scheme of Imperial Defence as shall effectually prevent a like humiliation overtaking Great Britain.

In the system which gives the Colonies Representation in the Senate and the Chambers may, perhaps, be found a solution of that vexed question, an Imperial Parliament, and out of the many plans propounded by French Ministers of War may be found a royal road for the construction of a Foreign

Service Army which shall obviate the necessity of garrisoning our distant stations with half-trained and half-grown lads.

I do not profess to put the book forward as a complete history of Colonial France—of its many shortcomings no one is more sensible than I am; but as Colonial matters are now claiming some share of public interest, I would fain hope that "Colonial France" may meet with some readers who will judge its defects lightly, and maybe find some interest and possibly some instruction in the dryness of its details.

C. B. N.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY AND FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

PAGE

The Colonies of France—Early Explorations of French Voyagers—Richelieu's Efforts to Colonize—Colbert's Policy—Governors-General and Intendants—Changes in Colonial Administration owing to the Revolution—Present Constitution—Conseils Privés—Conseils Généraux—Contributions furnished by Colonies to the State Budget—Contributions by State to Colonial Budgets—Local Budgets—Financial Officers—Colonial Banks . . 1

CHAPTER II.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN AFRICA.

SENEGAL: Early French Explorations on West Coast of Africa—First Settlements on the Coast—Captured by the English in 1759—Its Second Capture in 1778—Third Capture in 1809—Progress of the Colony under the Restoration—Faidherbe's Expeditions against Inland Tribes—Recent Efforts at further Development—Railway from St. Louis to Dakar—Public Works—Population—Administration — Justice—Education—Religion—Agriculture and Commerce—Finance—Garrison—GABOON, GRAND BASSAM, and ASSINIE 23

CHAPTER III.

ISLANDS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN: RÉUNION, NOSSI BÉ, SAINTE MARIE DE MADAGASCAR, AND MAYOTTE.

RÉUNION: Its Discovery—Temporary Occupation by Dutch and English—Permanent Occupation by the French—Its Privateers

PAGE

during the Anglo-French Wars—Blockade in 1794—Surcouf and his Successors—Captured by the English in 1810—Population—Government and Administration—Justice—Education—Religion—Public Works—Cultivation and Commerce—Finances 42

NOSSI BÉ: Early History—Ceded to the French—Rising of the Inhabitants—Final French Conquest—Topography—Population—Government and Administration—Commerce and Agriculture—Finances 60

SAINTE MARIE DE MADAGASCAR: Early French Settlements—Population—Government—Commerce and Finances 65

MAYOTTE: French Attempts to Fortify—Population—Government—Commerce and Finances 69

CHAPTER IV.

EAST INDIES.

Pondicherry, Mahé, Chandernagore, Karikal, and Yanaon—Early History of the French in India—Trading Companies under Royal Support—Richelieu and Colbert's Efforts—Beaulieu and Carron—François Martin's gallant Defence of St. Thomé — Founding of Pondicherry — Wars with the English — Repeated Capture of the French Possessions—Population—Government and Administration — Justice—Education—Agriculture—Commerce and Industry—Finance 74

CHAPTER V.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC: TAHITI, THE MARQUESAS, AND NEW CALEDONIA.

TAHITI: Its Discovery—Early Navigation—Missionary Successes—Annexation by the French—Consul Pritchard's Protests—Topography—Population—Government and Administration—Justice, Religion, and Education—Public Works—Agriculture and Commerce—Finance 94

NEW CALEDONIA: Its Discovery—Annexation by the French—Converted into a Convict Settlement—Inefficient Supervision—Escape of Convicts to Australia—Indignation of Australian Governments—Their Representations to the Home Government—The Récidivist Bill—Topography—Population—Government and Administration — Justice — Education—Public Works—Mines—Free Emigration—Commerce and Finances . . . 103

CHAPTER VI.

COCHIN-CHINA, ANNAM, AND TONKIN.

PAGE

Early Dealings of the French in Annam—The Jesuit Bishop Treaty of 1787 directed against the English—Cruelty of Annamites to Missionaries—French Threats—Occupation of Saigon—War of 1861—Annexation of Cochin-China—Dupuis' Expedition to Tonkin—Garnier's Campaign and Death—Rivière's Expedition —Final Treaty and Annexation of the whole Eastern Portion of the Peninsula—Topography—Population—Government and Administration — Justice — Education — Religion — Public Works—Agriculture and Commerce—Finance 114

CHAPTER VII.

MARTINIQUE.

Its Discovery — Early French Occupation — Foundation of the Colony—British Expedition of 1759—Capture of the Island in 1762—Its Restoration by Terms of Treaty of Paris—De Bouillé's Expedition against the British West India Islands—Disturbances at Commencement of the Revolution—Captured by England in 1794—Restored at Peace of Amiens—Retaken in 1809, and again Restored by Treaty of Paris—Population—Government and Administration—Justice—Education—Religion—Commerce and Agriculture—Finance—Taxation—Garrison and Defences 133

CHAPTER VIII.

GUADALOUPE, AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Early French Occupation—Hostilities with the Natives—Collapse of the First French West India Companies—Captured by English in 1703—Ceded to France by Treaty of Utrecht—Recaptured by British in 1759—Ceded again to France in 1763—Unsuccessful Attempt of the English in 1794—Taken by England in 1810—Restored by Treaty of Paris in 1815—Topography—Its Dependencies: Saintes, Marie Galante, Desirade, Saints Martin and Bartholomew—Immigration—Government and Administration — Education — Clergy—Public Works—Cultivation—Commerce and Finance—Garrison 162

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH GUIANA.

PAGE

Its Present Condition—Its Discovery and Early French Settlements—Its Inauguration as a Penal Colony during the Revolution—Captured by an Anglo-Portuguese Expedition in 1807—Restored by Treaty of Paris in 1817—Fresh Attempts under the Restoration to Colonize Guiana—Population—Education—Government and Administration—Justice—Public Works—Agriculture — Arboriculture—Cattle-raising — Gold-mining—Commerce — Comparison with British Guiana — Finances—Garrison and Defence 191

CHAPTER X.

THE ISLANDS OF SAINT PIERRE AND MIQUELON.

Their Early Occupation by French Fishermen—The Fishing Fleets of Saint Pierre and Miquelon—Population—Government and Administration — Justice—Education — Public Works—Agriculture and Commerce—Finance 207

CHAPTER XI.

MADAGASCAR.

Its Geographical Position known to the Ancients—Discovered by the Portuguese—First French Expedition in 1642—De Pronis and De Mellleraye settle on the Island—Flacourt annexes it to France—Failure of Attempts to Colonize—Re-attached to France—Jesuits step in to Proselytize Inhabitants—English Alliance with Radama I.—Island of Ste. Marie occupied by France—French Collision with Malagese in 1829—Constant Efforts by Jesuits to regain lost Ascendency — Laborde, Lastelle, and Finaz—French encourage Slavery—Occupation of Mohély—Relations between Radama II. and the French—His Religious Tolerance—His Death—Religious Intolerance of his Widow—Her Pretended Baptism and Death—Hostilities with France—Rivalry between France and England—Conduct of Admiral Pierre—Firmness of Lord Granville—Hostile Feeling in France towards England—Leroy Beaulieu on French Colonies—Their Danger to England 217

CHAPTER XII.

OBOCK.

PAGE

Its Situation—Population—Climate—Purchased by the French—Early Neglect—Recent Efforts to Improve the Harbours—Commerce with Central Africa—Its Value as a Commercial and Military Port—Coal in the Neighbourhood—A Shelter for Merchant Vessels and Ships of War—Home for Corsairs—Possible Source of Danger to England 256

CHAPTER XIII.

TUNIS.

Continuity of French Action in the Regency—Early History of Tunis—Louis IX. dies there in 1270—Treaty between the King of Tunis and the Kings of Sicily, Navarre, and France—Invasion by Charles VI. of France—Continual War between Sicily and Tunis—Invasion by the Emperor Charles V.—Tunis conquered by the Turks, and Power vested in Deys—French Fleets bombard the Coast in 1683 and 1685—Overthrow of the Deys by Turkish Soldiery—In the Eighteenth Century French Fleets appear off Goletta on many Occasions—Tribute paid to the Bey by all European Powers, and by United States—In 1799 Bey declares War with the Republic—Gigantic Sums paid by Catholic Societies to repurchase Slaves—Lord Exmouth puts an End to Slavery—French Conquest of Algeria—Financial Difficulties of the Bey—French and Italian Rivalry in the Mediterranean — France determines to chastise the Kroumirs—French Troops enter the Regency—Treaty wrung from the Bey—French Protectorate—Probable Results of French Power 264

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIAL DEFENCE.

Defence of English Colonies—Dual System in both Colonies—Forces employed in recent French Colonial Wars—Campénon's Scheme for a Colonial Army—Boulanger's Scheme—Present System of Garrisoning Colonies — Naval Forces in French Colonies—Admiral Aube's Groups of Combat—Destruction of English Commerce—Means of counteracting these Schemes . 288

APPENDIX.

NO.		PAGE
I.	Ratification of the Powers granted to the "Compagnie pour le Commerce d'Orient et de Madagascar et d'establer des Colonies françaises aux iles de l'Orient	297
II.	Extract from the Letters-Patent of Louis XIV. for the Foundation of the Company of the East Indies	299
III.	Decree of the Council of State concerning Madagascar	300
IV.	Declaration of Tsimandroho to the King of France	301
V.	Letters from Prince Rakoto and the discontented Chiefs to the Emperor Napoleon III.	302
VI.	Extract of Letter from Father Jouen	303
VII.	Letter from Tombi Fatouma to the French Commandant	303
VIII.	Text of the Charter granted to M. Laborde	304

	Table showing present Position of British Possessions	306
	Table showing present Position of French Possessions	307
1.	Principal Items of Colonial Expenditure	308
2.	Principal Products	310
3.	Acreage under Cultivation	312
4.	Vessels Entered and Cleared	312
5.	Vessels Cleared from Saigon	314
6.	Exports and Imports of Principal Colonies	315
7.	Items of Military Expenditure and Strength of Garrisons	316
8.	Strength of the Marine Forces	317
9.	Squadrons maintained in Colonies	318

COLONIAL FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY AND FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Colonies of France—Early Explorations of French Voyagers—Richelieu's Efforts to Colonize — Colbert's Policy — Governors-General and Intendants—Changes in Colonial Administration owing to the Revolution—Present Constitution—*Conseils Privés*—*Conseils Généraux*—Contributions furnished by Colonies to the State Budget—Contribution by State to Colonial Budgets—Local Budgets—Reserve Funds—Financial Officers—Colonial Banks.

THE Colonial policy of France has under the Third Republic taken a fresh lease of life; past failures have been tacitly buried in oblivion, past successes exhumed from the musty volumes of monarchical history, and the people of France persuaded through the medium of a subsidized press that the regeneration of the country is possible only through an extension of her colonial system. Fresh homes will be created for the *bons pères de famille*, fresh outlets found for French commerce, fresh scenes for French glory.

Animated with this idea vast tracts have been added to the dominions of France; including the recent acquisitions of Tunis and Annam, her colonies may now be said to contain 500,000 square miles of territory, with 25,000,000 inhabitants.

In Asia, they comprise the minor settlements of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahé and Karikal, in the East Indies; whilst the whole eastern portion of the peninsula of Further India is now under the dominion of the Tricolour. Cochin-China was wrested from the King of Annam in 1860; Annam proper,

Tonkin and Cambodia were placed under French protection after long-protracted and costly military operations twenty years later.

In Africa there are Senegal, Gaboon, some petty tracts on the Gold Coast, together with the islands of Mayotte, Nossi Bé, Réunion and Madagascar; for though the treaty of 1885, which closed the war that had been waged between the Republic and the Queen of that island, expressly omitted any mention of the word Protectorate, France roundly asserts her claim to the whole of Madagascar—a claim based on treaties which surely have lapsed by the effluxion of time. Lastly, in June, 1886, the Comores group, lying to the north-west of Madagascar, were also formally annexed.

In America the colonies consist of the penal settlement of French Guiana, the West Indian islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and other dependencies, together with the fishing stations of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland.

In the Pacific, the convict establishment of New Caledonia, the islands of Tahiti and the Marquesas, and possibly ere these pages see the light the New Hebrides group may have been added to the list of French possessions.

Both from a legislative and financial point of view, there is a great similarity in the laws under which these various colonies are governed. But before proceeding to a detailed description of each dependency, it may be of interest to summarize as clearly as may be the principal points which are common to all, and to give a brief history of the rise and fall of France as a Colonial Power.

Englishmen are justly proud of the position occupied by their country as the sovereign Power on whose dominions it has with truth and pride been said that the sun never sets, and we are apt with less truth to deride the pretensions of the French to any aptitudes for colonization. Yet the veriest tyro in European history must know that for many years French explorers marched side by side with Englishmen, even if they did not distance them, in the discovery of far-off lands, and that for close upon two centuries the foreign possessions of France equalled, if they did not surpass, our own.

So far back as the middle of the fourteenth century, in the reign of Charles V., the merchants of Rouen and the hardy seamen of Brittany and Normandy joined together in expeditions as daring and as perilous as any of which our own naval annals can boast. In little barques not measuring a hundred tons, they scoured the Atlantic, and brought back to the markets of the Seine the rich produce of the African Gold Coast and the fruits of the Western Isles. For close on half a century (1364–1410) Norman merchants had establishments at Elmina, Fantin, Cormontin, and other spots on the west of the Dark Continent, long before British mariners had ever visited those shores. Scarcely a hundred years elapsed before another Norman sea captain, Paulmier de Gonneville, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and visited Australia (this was about the year 1503); and twenty-five years later Parmentier returned to Dieppe freighted with the spices of the Malaccas and the ebony of Madagascar. About the same time (1535) Jacques Cartier of St. Malo hoisted his country's flag on the shores of Newfoundland, and instituted the fisheries off that coast—fisheries which to-day constitute much of the wealth of Brittany. In the reign of Henri IV. private discoverers began to receive royal patronage and official assistance which in the previous reigns had been denied them. Brazil and Louisiana were discovered, and efforts made to establish regular commerce between these distant countries and France. Companies were founded for the development of their trade, but no attempt, as yet, was made to promote emigration. The merchants who interested themselves in the matter looked only to the immediate present, and the Government was blind to the possibilities of a future.

In 1598 Henri IV., by Royal Letters Patent, appointed M. de la Roche Governor-General of Canada, and entrusted him with a mission to establish a colony in those regions, and implant there the Catholic faith.

In 1600 a similar patent was granted to a Company for the development of Sumatra, Java, the Malaccas, and the East Indies.

The efforts of the King were not crowned with success. In

Canada complaints and quarrels arose between the Breton fisherman and M. de la Roche's emigrants; and though the latter actually founded a colony in the island of St. Croix, the pressure brought to bear upon the King was such as to result in the return of the emigrants, chiefly merchants and traders, with a powerful admixture of the adventurer element. Their opponents sat in high places. Sully threw the whole weight of his influence against the enterprise:—"I must include amongst the acts done in defiance of my opinion the despatch of the colonists to Canada this year. No sort of success is to be hoped for, no riches can be drawn from those countries in the new world which lie beyond the fortieth degree of latitude."

The death of Henri IV. following on the open hostility of his minister to these far-off projects, was but the precursor of their downfall. Hardy and bold as the sailors of Brittany and Normandy were, ever ready to set forth in quest of fresh worlds, their compatriots inland were by no means prepared to incur expatriation in order to aid in the commercial development of new provinces across the seas. There was but one class in France willing to turn from the mother country and seek fresh homes in happier climes, where religious persecutions were unknown, and where all would be free to worship as they chose; but the narrow policy of Richelieu and the machinations of a priest-ridden ministry forbad the introduction of any but the Catholic faith into the colonies of France. Thus the very element, the off-shoots of a State religion which have been the mainstay and prop of our own distant settlements, was forbidden to the new province of France.

Tempted by the marvellous successes attained by the Dutch East India Company at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the French, under the guidance of Richelieu, lent themselves with renewed energy to the formation of fresh commercial undertakings—undertakings which were to connect more closely the trade of distant lands with the commerce of the home markets.

One of the earliest of these was "*La Compagnie de la Nacelle de Saint Pierre fleurdelisée*," which had for its object, as stated in its charter, "To establish in the kingdom of France

a great trade in all the objects to be found in these countries, and to establish in them fisheries, dockyards for the construction of ships, and depôts for other manufactures which are unknown in those regions, to develop the value of those territories which now return but little profit, and to thoroughly explore all localities over which the flag of France flies. To establish foundries, mines for gold, silver and iron, to prosecute journeys into the interior of these lands and into the neighbouring States, to attract population to them, establishing colonists in suitable places, such as Canada and North America, and to trade and traffic in all countries which have not shown themselves hostile to our sovereign."

The results of this company were as infinitesimal as its intentions were grandiose: abroad as well as at home it effected nothing but the ruin of its supporters. The sanguine minister, however, was in no way discouraged. Whilst the anger of the members of "*La Compagnie de la Nacelle de Saint Pierre fleur-delisée*" was still smouldering, Richelieu travelled down to Brittany, and there collecting round him the enterprising merchants of the west coast, he founded one more equally gigantic enterprise, equally vague in its scope, equally doomed to failure.

This company was styled "*La Compagnie de Morbihan*," and again, to quote a charter, "The shareholders were granted the privilege of possessing lands in North America, whether on the continent or on islands and other places which they may conquer, the King alone reserving the right of homage. The Company will be permitted to take out of France all persons who may volunteer for service under this charter, to enrol and to arm them, as well as all rogues and vagabonds whom the agents of the Company may impress."

It is easy to understand how quickly the Company of Morbihan attained failure. Its directors thought only of enriching themselves by the sale of lands and monopolies which never had, and never could have had, any existence. In fact no real efforts at colonization were made, the clause as to the compulsory embarkation of all rogues and vagabonds—a power which, judiciously used, might have led to the happiest results—

remained a dead letter. In the seven years during which the Company dragged on an existence solely for the purpose of enriching the one hundred directors, only forty colonists were introduced into Canada.

Warned, though undismayed, by this second failure, Richelieu continued the grant of patents to new Companies on every hand.

In 1626 a grant was accorded to two worthy merchants of Dieppe—d'Enambuc and du Rossy—who in the previous year had visited the islands of Saint Christopher and the Barbadoes, returning thence with the most exaggerated stories of their boundless wealth, to found a Company for the development of the West India Islands and Peru.

In 1628 a second Canadian Company was formed under Royal Patent. To it was granted Quebec, Canada, Florida, and the whole coast of North America up to the Arctic Circle, with a monopoly of all trade between that continent and France for fifteen years, and a monopoly in perpetuity of the trade in skins and furs.

In the same year (1628) the third French East India Company was formed, previous attempts having been made in 1604 and 1615; and in 1642 a fourth East India Company was again launched on a course of certain failure. The closing years of Richelieu's career seem to have been marked with an absence of that love for colonial aggrandizement which had so distinguished him in his earlier days, and France remained undisturbed by visions of wealth to be extracted from distant lands.

Under Colbert, however, the fever of colonial speculation again burst forth. Company after company was formed, but, being founded on erroneous principles, none reached maturity.

In 1664 those of the East and West Indies; in 1673 Senegal, which in 1679 was merged into that of Senegal and Guinea; in 1698 that of Saint Domingo, followed by one for the development of trade with, and colonization in, China.

It was not until the commencement of the eighteenth century that any of these institutions really took root in the soil to which they had been transplanted; the history of their rise

or fall belongs to another period, and will be dealt with in each separate case. The administration of these companies was confided to Governors-General, who were appointed by the King to guard the interests of the State in its various distant possessions. These officials, however, were expressly forbidden from touching on questions relating to commerce or the sale of lands. As might have been anticipated, the restriction of the powers of these otherwise irresponsible Viceroys gave rise to endless disputes. The trading companies, on the one hand, protested against any interference with their prerogatives, and the Governors, on the other, were annoyed at the curtailment of their powers. The interposition of the Home Government became necessary, and towards the end of the seventeenth century it undertook the entire management of all its foreign possessions. In 1679, "Intendants" were appointed to each colony to assist the Governors-General in matters of internal administration, and to act, as it were, as middlemen between the representatives of the Proprietor Companies and the State.

Far from putting an end to the disagreements to which the appointment of Governors had given rise, the new state of affairs proved more fruitful of quarrels than the old. The Intendants in many cases looked on themselves as spies over the action of the Governors, and as appointed solely to watch over the interests of the civil portion of the population; in other instances Intendants and Governors banded themselves together against the traders; in all cases they succeeded in fomenting discord and producing distrust. The peculiar position occupied by these Intendants opened out great opportunities for peculation, and many were the efforts made by the *protégés* of the King's favourites to obtain these coveted posts, from which they returned in a few years possessors of handsome fortunes. The history of the French reverses in Canada furnishes an apt illustration of one of the most glaring instances of official rapacity and incapacity in the person of Bigot, the Intendant during Montcalm's gallant campaign. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of the military commander during the operations against the British. The most

exorbitant taxes were levied on the most necessary articles of food for the soldiers; their pay was so much in arrear that many of the subordinate officers were compelled, owing to debts due to the State, to resign their commissions, and were then subjected to civil punishment for bankruptcy. Yet whilst the military were thus suffering, the civil officials were rapidly enriching themselves. "All are hastening to make their fortune before the inevitable loss of the colony, which many eagerly long for. Its loss will cast an impenetrable veil over their past misconduct." Thus wrote the brave Montcalm in one of the letters which his gallant subordinate, de Bougainville, succeeded in conveying to the Minister of Marine. That there was too much truth in this assertion is evident from the fact that, on his return to Paris, Bigot was tried for his peculations, condemned to perpetual banishment from the realms of His Most Christian Majesty of France, and compelled to disgorge 12,000,000 francs. The result of his conduct was the loss of Canada to the French, and the death of Montcalm.

In the year 1787, when the Revolutionary storm-cloud was just appearing over the horizon, and when the universal cry for political freedom was resounding throughout France, fresh changes were made in the administration of the colonies by the institution of "Colonial Assemblies." These bodies, to a certain extent, represented the principle of local self-government, and were intended to appease the landed proprietors, whose power had been totally abolished by the appointment of Governors-General and Intendants. The change was not of lasting duration.

The Revolutionists of 1789 were too busily employed in sweeping away abuses at home to think of effecting necessary reforms abroad, and thus the position of the colonies was unaffected by the Constitution of 1791. Later in the year, however, attention was called to the anomaly of France being ruled by a set of laws based on universal equality, whilst its colonists were subject to the old régime. In September, 1791, a decree was issued placing the colonies under a special code; but it was not until the Constitution of 1797 that the French colonies were legally incorporated into the Republic, and sub-

jected to the same constitutional laws. Five years later fresh changes were introduced, and two years afterwards, on August 4, 1803, a decree of the Senate was published, renewing again the colonial constitution. The power which in olden days had been conferred on Governors-General was now transferred to officials styled "Captains-General," each one having under his orders a colonial "Préfet" and a Chief Judge.

With the fall of the Empire in 1814 fresh changes became necessary, and the Republican officials were once more replaced by Governors and Intendants. The necessity of putting an end to the equivocal situation of the various colonial administrations also became apparent, and it was obvious that some decision must be arrived at in order to avoid in the future the clashing between the Metropolitan and Local authorities, and to define with more clearness the exact jurisdiction and powers of each official.

From time to time Ministerial orders were
with individual colonies, but it was not until the year 1830 that the Government realized the impossibility of dealing with each colony as a separate factor. Yet there was a strong antipathy to placing the whole of the dependencies absolutely under French law. A series of resolutions were accordingly drawn up in which the various colonies were grouped with more or less method; but the Code Napoleon was the basis of their laws, and they were administered by men trained in France, ignorant of the peculiar characteristics of the people among whom they were thrown, and careful rather for the interests of the mother country than the welfare, moral or material, of the subject races. Though, undoubtedly, a certain amount of political liberty was accorded to the people, who were nominally, at any rate, entrusted once more with local self-government, the clash between races was apparent; the white colonists, of course, reserving to themselves all places in local institutions, their black brethren being debarred the privilege of voting even in Municipal elections.

The abolition of slavery in 1848 again brought the colonial question to a crisis, spreading, as it did, financial ruin around,

and destroying many of the most flourishing industries. A Colonial Commission was appointed to inquire into the best method of alleviating the widespread distress, and it suggested as a sovereign cure for the disease "Parliamentary Representation." The result of this inquiry was the publication, on May 3, 1854, of a decree of the Senate, annulling the Colonial Constitution of 1833, and this in its turn was overthrown with the overthrow of the Napoleonic dynasty, under which the colonies of France were rapidly regaining the wealth and position, of which the innumerable changes to which they had been subject had deprived them.

With the birth of the Third Republic arose a desire to endow the colonies with fresh institutions. A fresh Colonial Commission was instituted to report on the best method of proceeding, and finally all were grouped under two heads:

Martinique, Guadaloupe, Réunion, Senegal, the East Indian possessions, and Cochin-China forming the first group.

Saint Pierre and Miquelon, New Caledonia, Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, Mayotte, Nossi Bé, and Gaboon forming the second group.

GROUP I. are endowed with representative institutions, which decide all financial questions; any fundamental changes in their organic laws must, however, be sanctioned by a decree of the Senate. The command of the forces and the interior administration are entrusted to a Governor, who has under his orders functionaries at the head of the various administrative and executive departments, such as the medical, financial, legal, military, naval, and police.

These officials, with the addition of two of the principal non-official inhabitants, one named by the President of the Republic, one by the Governor, form as it were a Supreme Council, styled the *Conseil Privé*, the Governor-General himself being President: his acts are confirmed by a decision of the Council, which also has the power of vetoing them. Should any disputes arise between the Governor and his Council, which are not of a nature to necessitate their reference to Paris, the Council is further strengthened by the addition of two local magistrates; but should either party still be

dissatisfied with the decision of the majority, the question may be referred to the "Commission Coloniale," at the capital.

In addition to the "Conseil Privé," each colony possesses a "Conseil Général," clothed with much the same functions as the "Conseils Généraux" of the mother country. They are composed of members elected by the votes of all colonists over the age of twenty-one years. The circular memorandum which accorded these privileges contained the following passage, which clearly indicates the scope of the powers of the "Conseils Généraux": "The Government being desirous of granting to the colonies complete liberty of action, they will be permitted for the future to regulate their own affairs in a great measure, they will be allowed to manipulate and levy their own taxes and other duties, to have sole charge of their own finances, drawing up their own budgets. They will thus have all the necessary powers for developing their own resources and for diminishing their own expenses, and can arrange their commercial relations and their internal affairs as seems best for them."

These councils, then, legislate upon all matters which specially concern the colony; they vote the various rates and taxes, they discuss all questions which concern the colonies in their relations with the mother country. They deliberate upon and fix the local budgets, and have the power of addressing directly to the Minister of Marine all claims and protests which they consider should, in the interests of the colony, be made the special object of his inquiry. Intercolonial questions can also be discussed by these assemblies, delegates from other colonies meeting for the deliberation of such matters; but every decision arrived at by these delegates requires the confirmation of the "Conseils Généraux" of the colonies concerned before it can be carried into effect, and in certain cases further requires the ratification of the Senate.

Group II. comprises the colonies of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands, Mayotte, Nossi Bé, and Gaboon. They are administered much in the same manner as the colonies in Group I. The

senior officials form, with the Governor, a Supreme Council; but there being no "Conseils Généraux" in these colonies, delegates from the Municipal councils take part in the deliberations of the "Conseils Privés," when matters relating to the local budget or to the interior administration of the country come up for discussion.

The task of effectually checking irregularities amongst the swarms of underpaid officials in her distant possessions has been one beyond the power of the French Government. Bigots still exist in the colonies of France. In January, 1883, a fresh departure was made in the organization of a Civil Service, the members of which it is anticipated will be found qualified to deal with all the difficulties attendant on the administration of the various dependencies, and will be drawn from a class which should be above the petty defalcations which have marred the symmetry of colonial budgets. Hitherto the irreconcileable functions of administrative officer and of examining officer of accounts passed alternately through the same hands. When the executive officer in charge of a treasury was liable at any moment to be made inspecting financial officer of a district, and again re-transferred to the executive charge of a still larger department, it was obviously to his advantage to overlook irregularities. Such a system was naturally unfortunate in its results; nor was the substitution of permanent inspectors in the larger colonies attended with more success. These inspectors occupied the anomalous position of being subordinate to the Governor, and yet corresponding direct with the Minister of Marine. They watched with a jealous eye the working of all financial and administrative officers, knowing that their departmental promotion depended to a great extent on the detection and report of abuses. Virtually subordinate to, though practically independent of, the Governor, they were very thorns in the flesh of these little potentates, to whose opposition the abolition of inspections may justly be traced. Espionage was their *rôle*, and right well they carried it out; but the equilibrium between colonial expenditure and colonial receipts never resulted from their labours, and it is doubtful whether the new Civil Service officials will meet with more

success, their mission also being one of antagonism to the superior executive officer of the colonies.

The financial administration of the colonies is based on the principle that the expense of the government, of the general administration and of defence shall be borne by the State, all other charges being debited to the colony.

A decree of the Senate, dated 12th December, 1882, has laid down the various items of receipt and expenditure which appear in the budget presented to the Chamber by the Minister of Marine, who also holds the post of Colonial Minister. Further complications, however, have arisen on the question, as certain of the colonies have been transferred from the Admiralty to the Foreign Department. The items in the Colonial Budget which are submitted to the Chambers are :—

Receipts.—1. The sum each colony is called upon to furnish to the public treasury as a quota towards the national expenditure. As none of the colonies are now in a position to aid the mother country, this item no longer appears in the budget, though by a decree of the Senate, dated 4th July, 1806, any of the colonies might be called on for financial assistance.

2. The rental of the various Government properties in the East Indies.

3. Deductions made from the pay of the various Civil officials on account of their contributions to the Pension Funds.

4. The produce of the sale or concession of State lands.

5. All other receipts which are not required for colonial purposes.

The collection of these sums, which have to figure in the Metropolitan Budget, is carried out under the order of the Minister of Finance by the Treasurers-general of colonies.

Expenditure.—The items of local expenditure which are borne by the State comprise, as I have just stated, all those relating to

1. The personal staff of the Governor.
2. The Military Service.
3. Religion and Public Instruction.
4. Financial officials.

In the minor colonies of St. Pierre, Miquelon, Gaboon, Mayotte, Nossi Bé, Tahiti, the Marquesas Islands, New Caledonia, the expenditure on public works, harbours, buildings, &c., is also to a large extent borne by the State.

All expenses incurred in the colonies under the above headings are paid by bills styled "Traites de la Marine;" these are not negotiable, but are issued by the Treasurers-general of Colonies, under the seal of the Governors, and are not valid until they have been countersigned by the Minister of Marine.

Local Budgets.—The local budgets of the colonies are prepared by an official styled "the Director of the Interior," and are deliberated on by the "Conseils Généraux" in those colonies where such bodies exist; in others by the "Conseils Privés," or by the chief administrative officials. These budgets are published in the local official Gazette, all payments and receipts being rendered valid by the colonial seal attached at the hands of the Treasurer-general. Except in the case of Cochin-China, where the budget discussions are carried on with closed doors, all sittings of the "Conseils Généraux," or "Conseils Privés," for the deliberation of financial questions are open, and liable, as they are subjected, to the free criticism of a local press.

All items which do not come under one or the other of the headings enumerated in the preceding page, as being a portion of the budget of the State, are necessarily transferred to the shoulders of the local officials.

Ordinary receipts comprise—

1. Rates and taxes voted by the local assemblies.
2. Customs dues, the exact amount of which is fixed in the same manner.
3. The rental of colonial properties.
4. Subventions made by the mother country in aid of the local exchequer.

Extraordinary receipts include—

1. Loans for public works authorized by the State or by colonial assemblies.
2. Sums borrowed from the Reserve Fund of the colonies, to

carry out works of public utility; these, however, can only be granted temporarily.

3. Extraordinary rates or taxes collected in virtue of a colonial decree.

Ordinary expenditure includes all sums the payment of which has been foreseen and provided for in the local budgets, the salaries of minor officials, maintenance of high roads and public works, whilst

Extraordinary expenditure refers only to the disbursement of those sums which have become disposable under the heading of "*Extraordinary Receipts.*"

Loans contracted by the colony, or pecuniary guarantees entered into by colonial assemblies, must first receive the sanction of the Minister of Marine; and all expenses incurred beyond the colony are satisfied by means of orders on the Minister of Marine in Paris, or on the Treasurer-general of other colonies. The orders, however, can only be issued with the sanction of local assemblies, and they require the seal of the colony to be attached to them by order of the Governors.

A check is held over irregularities in colonial expenditure, by the issue of a recent decree of the Senate, which positively forbids surplus credits under one item being made available for increased expenditure under another; even when a temporary use is made of these available sums, the intervention of the Governor in Council is necessary, who signifies his assent to the Treasurer-general of the colony.

The accounts of the financial year are made up and closed on the 20th of the succeeding June, beyond which date no outstanding claims are admissible. They are at the first meeting after that date submitted to the local assemblies, and approved of by the Governor in Council.

Reserve Funds.—In the event of any surplus accruing at the expiration of the financial year, it is invested in Rentes and carried to the credit of the Reserve Fund of the colony. The total of these funds has been fixed by a decree of the Senate as follows: they were commenced by subventions made by the State on the abolition of slavery, and in those colonies where they

still exist have been very usefully employed in enabling the local governments to meet any unexpected expenditure :—

TOTAL OF RESERVE FUNDS.

Martinique	£60,000
Guadaloupe	60,000
Réunion	60,000
Guiana	40,000
Senegal	52,000
Gaboon	20,000
Saint Pierre and Miquelon	16,000
Saint Marie de Madagascar	4,000
Mayotte	8,000
Nossi Bé	8,000
Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands	16,000
New Caledonia	16,000
Possessions in the East Indies	40,000
Cochin-China	360,000

It is distinctly laid down that advances from these funds are only to be made for public purposes, under the authority of the Governor in Council; all loans to private establishments are strictly forbidden. The accounts connected with these funds are annually submitted at the close of each financial year to the "Conseils Généraux," or, in colonies where these do not exist, to the "Conseils Privés."

Financial Officials.—In each colony, at the head of all treasury establishments, stands an official nominated by the President of the Republic, styled the "Trésorier-payeur"; he is charged with the receipt and disbursement of all sums entered either on the Local or Metropolitan Budget. These gentlemen receive not only a fixed salary, with house accommodation, but a percentage on all the taxes and customs dues of the colony, and their passages to and fro are paid by the State; on the other hand, they are required to deposit considerable sums as caution-money, amounting, in the larger colonies, to £4,000.

Under every "Trésorier-payeur" are one or more assistants named by the Minister of Finance and Minister of Marine alternately; they act under the orders and disposition of the

Treasurer-General, to whom they are responsible. They, too, in addition to a fixed salary, receive a percentage on the State receipts.

The salaries of these functionaries are borne by the State; they themselves are, as a rule, drawn from some of the great departments at home, and may be looked upon as servants of the Republic, not of the colonies.

Subordinate to the Assistant Treasurers we have the purely colonial officials, "Receveurs des Contributions" and "Précepteurs des Contributions." They are entrusted, under the orders of the senior State functionaries, with the collection of rates, taxes, and all local dues; and in addition to their fixed salaries receive a percentage (fixed by colonial decree, which requires the approval of the Ministers of Marine and of Finance) on all sums they collect. Both Receveurs and Précepteurs are nominated by Local Governors, and, like their seniors, are required to deposit considerable sums as caution-money.

The working of all colonial offices is subject to the most severe scrutiny on the part of the Accountant-General's office in Paris, to which all accounts are annually submitted, and its officials are called upon to offer suggestions as to reforms in the financial situation of the colonies, and to compare rigidly the actual receipts and expenditure with that authorized by the Home Government.

Colonial Banks.—A review of the financial administration of the French colonies would be incomplete without a slight *résumé* of the status and operations of the various colonial banks. The terrible crisis caused by the abolition of the slave-trade, and the necessity then apparent for some sort of local institution which should be able to assist solvent though temporarily pressed colonists with timely advances, led to their introduction; and a clause in the law of April, 1849, which sanctioned large indemnities to the distressed colonies, allocated one-eighth of these loans as capital towards the formation of loan and discount companies in Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Réunion. Guiana and Senegal received their charters some few years later, the capital of the various

banks being apportioned to the wealth and prosperity of the colonies.

Martinique	with a capital of		£120,000
Guadaloupe	„	„	120,000
Réunion	„	„	120,000
Guiana	„	„	28,000
Senegal	„	„	9,200
Cochin-China	„	„	320,000

Each bank has the sole right of issuing notes in its own colonies; these notes are legal tender, their circulation being limited to three times the cash balance in hand. The banks are allowed to make advances on the security of merchandise in stock, or in bonded warehouses; loans also on standing crops are authorized to tenants as well as freeholders. In the colonies, as in France, the law shows but little consideration for the tenant debtor, every point being strained in favour of a pressing creditor; so the banks, in the event of one instalment of a loan becoming due, are authorized, eight days after the delivery of a notification of such default at the habitation of the borrower, to proceed to an enforced sale of his property, in spite of all opposition. Not only are the crops or property pledged liable to sale, but all matters, even to cash on the premises, furniture, plate, and stock. Still further to increase the security of such advances, a very stringent clause has been inserted in the Penal Code, rendering any borrower liable to imprisonment for life who should be found guilty of having made away with, or destroyed wilfully, or by negligence, crops on which advances have been made.

The operation of these banks is, to a certain extent, controlled by a committee of nine members, which has its permanent location in Paris. Of these one is a member of the Senate, elected by that body; two are nominated by the Minister of Finance; two by the Committee of the Bank of France; the four remaining are shareholders of the bank, nominated by the Minister of Marine.

The operations of these banks are officially limited to legitimate banking business, and they are prohibited from exceeding the instructions laid down in their charters of constitution: these permit them—

1. To discount bills payable at sight, or guaranteed by the signatures of responsible persons.

2. To discount, negotiate, or purchase bills or orders upon banking-houses in other colonies, in France, or in foreign countries.

3. To discount drafts guaranteed by—

a. Bills of lading or warrants, or on receipts of merchandise stored in bonded warehouses or in private stores, the keys of which have been officially entrusted to the bank.

b. On standing crops.

c. On French or other Government obligations, or on shares of French or colonial banks.

d. On specie, or gold and silver bullion lodged on deposit.

4. To open private accounts, cash coupons, recover bills, and pay all cheques drawn on them up to, but not beyond, the balance in hand.

5. To receive on deposit, charging for their safe custody, title-deeds, scrip, stock, money, and bullion.

6. To subscribe to all loans offered by the State, by the colonies, or by municipal institutions, up to the amount of its funded reserve not otherwise employed.

7. To receive, under the sanction of the Minister of Marine, subscriptions from private individuals for all Government or colonial loans.

8. To issue notes, payable to the bearer, of the value of 500, 100, 50, 25, and 5 francs.

9. To speculate in bullion or specie.

Loans are restricted to one-half the value of bills of lading or merchandise in warehouses; one-third the value of standing crops; two-thirds the value of insured buildings; and the full market value of bullion or specie. As regards stocks and shares, advances are limited to four-fifths of the price of French Government securities; three-fifths of colonial securities.

Every six months, on the 30th June and 31st December,

the books and accounts of the banks are made up and balanced. Only one-fifth of outstanding accounts, however good their security may be, are included in the assets. On a balance being struck, the following is the ruling observed with regard to the dividend, which is invariably paid out of the profits earned during the preceding half-year :—

a. One-half per cent. on the original capital of the bank is placed to the Reserve Fund.
b. A dividend of five per cent. is then distributed to shareholders.
c. The surplus is then divided in two equal parts, one-half being distributed as an additional dividend to shareholders; eight-tenths of the other half goes to swell the Reserve Fund, one-tenth to the manager, and one-tenth to the employés of the bank.

Each bank is furnished with a staff of four directors, and two accountants. Of the former, the Treasurer-General of the colony is *ex-officio* chairman, the three others being elected by the shareholders; of the accountants, one is named by the Minister of Marine, the other by the shareholders. The Board of Direction is individually and collectively responsible that the banks confine their operations strictly to the line of business laid down by their charters.

A central agency for the colonial banks was instituted in Paris in 1852, in order to assist in the more rapid development of business between the colonies and the capital; its Board of Direction is nominated partly by the Minister of Marine, partly by shareholders of the banks resident in Paris.

Constituted thus, these banks have rendered the most invaluable service to the French colonies. They have, by judicious advances, enabled prosperous colonists to rebuild workshops, renew their plant, improve their system of agriculture: at the same time, by a still more judicious system of foreclosing mortgages, and by seizing every opportunity of enforcing the penal clauses in their charters, they have often

been enabled to obtain, at absurdly low rates, very valuable properties, and so to increase the wealth of the shareholders at the expense of their more unfortunate compatriots.

Crédit Foncier Colonial.—In 1860, having regard to the immense success attendant on the workings of the colonial banks, the Emperor Napoleon, whose interest in the welfare of the colonies was always apparent, issued a decree sanctioning the establishment of the "Crédit Foncier Colonial" (Land Mortgage Companies) in Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Réunion. The objects of these companies were—

1. To advance money to individual proprietors, or to land companies, for the purpose of constructing sugar manufactories and refineries in French colonies, or of improving plant in such establishments.

2. To lend money on the mortgage of landed property.

3. To work, on their own account, properties acquired by foreclosure.

4. To advance money to the Governments or municipal authorities of the colonies.

Loans were more generally made for short periods, but they might, with the sanction of the Treasurer-General, be extended over a term of thirty years. Annual repayments included—

a. Interest at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum.

b. The annual instalment of the sum borrowed, plus 1 franc 20 centimes per cent. charged on the total amount advanced to cover the expenses of the loan.

In order that the mother country should be no loser by the venture which was intended to benefit the colonies, each colony was bound to guarantee a minimum interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the shareholders of these companies, to furnish them rent free with suitable offices, and to pay the voyage out and home of the various employés.

The operations of these companies have been attended with the most signal success. A judicious system of loans, coupled with still more judicious foreclosures, has enabled the three

Crédits Fonciers of the colonies of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Réunion to amass landed properties to the value of £300,000, in addition to the payment of annual interest to their shareholders averaging 16 per cent. As yet they have not been a quarter of a century in existence.

CHAPTER II.

SENEGAL AND THE WEST AFRICAN DEPENDENCIES.

Early French Explorations on West Coast of Africa—First Settlements on the Coast—Capture of French Colony by England, 1759—Its Second Capture in 1778—Third Capture in 1809—Progress of the Colony under the Restoration—Faidherbe's Expeditions against Inland Tribes—Recent Efforts at further Developments—Railway from St. Louis to Dakar—Public Works—Population—Government and Administration — Justice—Education—Religion — Agriculture and Commerce—Finances—Garrison—Gaboon—Grand Bassam and Assinie.

ALTHOUGH their efforts at colonization have not been crowned with success, we must concede to the French the honour of having made the earliest attempts to develop the resources of distant lands. Five hundred years ago, when communications with Asia were only open by land, and when America was as yet undiscovered, Southern Africa was the only country which opened up fields for the energy of the maritime population of Northern Europe. Few will gainsay the fact that the fishermen of the northern coasts of France, the men who, in this nineteenth century, yearly risk their lives in unseaworthy craft off the banks of Newfoundland, are not unworthy descendants of those gallant, adventurous spirits who in the days of Charles the Wise coasted down the western shores of Africa, and hoisted the white flag of France on territories far beyond any up to that time known by the sailors of Europe. Passing between the Canaries and the main land, the little craft, manned by seamen of Dieppe and Rouen, visited the ports of the Gold Coast and Guinea, and bestowed fresh names on harbours which still retain traces of their French discoverers. A trade in ivory, gums, gold dust, and pepper was from this

period regularly carried on by Dieppe and Rouen with Western Africa, and commercial settlements under royal sanction were established at Elmina, Fantin, Cormortin, and many other places on the Gold Coast. In the reign of Charles VI. complications in Europe interfered with distant enterprises, and all the African stations were abandoned, to be forthwith occupied by the Portuguese; and it was not until a century had elapsed, and Louis XI. had extended his royal patronage towards the merchant venturers of France, that efforts were made to renew relationship with the African coasts. The close of the fifteenth century once more saw the French flag flying over trading establishments at the mouth of the Senegal river and as far south as the Gaboon. From that day, with the brief intervals during which the colony has been wrested from them by the fortune of war, the French have maintained their hold on these establishments on the West Coast of Africa; and though they can scarcely be termed colonies, in our sense of the word, Senegal in particular has proved itself a valuable commercial possession, and now, owing to the restless policy France is pursuing in all quarters of the world, is being used as a political lever to bring under French subjugation the whole northern portion of the continent of Africa.

Under Richelieu and Colbert, in the seventeenth century, ambitious efforts were made to open up more constant communication with the West Coast, and under the patronage of these statesmen concessions were granted to various companies for this purpose. These efforts were futile: the chief appointments were invariably given to men high in Ministerial favour, offices were freely bought and sold, and each individual looked to amassing a fortune by fair means or by foul, and cared little for the welfare of the rank and file under his charge, or for the material development of the dependency entrusted to him. Company followed company with amazing rapidity; the failure of the one had no apparent deterrent effect on those spirits who longed to enjoy a share of the good things Ministers offered to them.

In 1633 the Company of Cape Verd was established, and in the following year, on the return of some vessels freighted

with the riches of the Gold Coast, popular attention was turned to West Africa, and a venture on a larger scale decided on; the districts of Guinea and Cape Blanc being added to the original charter. In less than five years the Royal Companies had died of inanition, and to private merchants was left the task of maintaining communication between France and Africa. Forty years later Colbert renewed the lapsed charters, and in 1675 a Company of Senegal was formed much on the same lines as those arranged by Richelieu. The dependency at once became the principal mart of slaves to the French possessions in America.

Riches poured into the colonial treasury, and as gangs of slaves were marched down to the coast, the native vendors brought with them many of the valuable products of Central Africa. The trade with France received a fresh impetus, and the Home Government working, as usual, on false lines, conceived the possibility of converting Senegal into an agricultural colony, and lands were taken up in the interior, at a distance of a hundred miles from the coast, for the cultivation of cotton, which is grown in considerable quantities by the natives. The most extravagant bounties were offered by the Ministry, and, thus provided with funds, men of straw were found ready enough to risk their lives in the search for wealth. The climate of the coast, deadly for Europeans, is far less so than that inland, and the many thousand labourers who, deceived by the specious promises of the French Government, migrated to Senegal, were not long in learning the impossibility of carrying on manual labour in tropical climes. A large proportion of these unfortunates died; others, on the brink of starvation, wended their way to the mouth of the river and were reshipped to France; some few, abandoning their comrades, mingled with the native tribes, and some lapsed into barbarism. Their descendants are to be found to this day in the Western Soudan.

The efforts to promote the agricultural development of Senegal thus met with a rude check, but its prosperity was nevertheless assured. The profits arising from the slave-trade with North America, and from the commerce in gums, skins,

ivory, and gold dust with France, pointed to it as one of the most valuable of all the French dependencies; and when, in 1758, war between France and England was declared, it was obviously to our interests to seize the colony.

To adopt a saying of the Marquis of Hartington, it was a Jingo in broadcloth who suggested the expedition, and we may be sure that his attention was directed more to the facility with which money was to be made by the undertaking than from any idea of casting additional honour on the British flag. In March, 1759, a couple of line-of-battle ships, four frigates, and a strong contingent of Marines, with the militant Quaker acting as guide, philosopher, and friend to the forces, left Spithead for St. Louis. On the 22nd of April the squadron reached its destination, and the Commodore, availing himself of the local knowledge of the Quaker, landed his forces, and intrenched them for the night, intending to make a combined attack at dawn. Before the bombardment commenced, messengers from the French Governor arrived, and ere sundown the details of the capitulation were arranged by which St. Louis, Podor, and Galam passed into our hands without the loss of a man. Leaving a garrison at St. Louis, the squadron sailed southwards and blockaded Goree. Efforts to carry the place by assault were made, but failed owing to the insufficiency of our forces. Yet our occupation of the West Coast could not be considered complete so long as the French flag flew on the ramparts of this strong fortification. In December the militant Quaker was reinforced by Admiral Keppel and a couple of battalions of troops under Colonel Worge. The land forces were disembarked under cover of the guns of the squadron, and plans made for an assault on the morrow. Once more the fighting gentleman in drab was disappointed, for the Governor of Goree, seeing himself outmatched, and having for eight months held at bay a formidable force, felt that he had satisfied the demands of honour and unconditionally surrendered. For four years Senegal remained in our hands, and we derived considerable benefit from its valuable trade; our American colonies especially finding the supply of slaves, who were cheaply and easily purchased on the

banks of the Senegal, more economically obtained when forwarded by English than by French vessels. At the close of the Seven Years' War, Senegal, by the terms of the Peace, was restored to France, again to fall into our hands, without offering any opposition, in the year 1778. It was, however, again retroceded to France under the terms of the Treaty of January, 1783.

The very nature of its population was such as to spare Senegal the trouble which overtook other French colonies, owing to the injudicious proclamations of universal freedom thundered forth at the outbreak of the French Revolution; and she also was spared the strict blockades which so effectually ruined the commerce of the West Indian Islands and other maritime possessions of France. But the long war that ravaged the civilized world from 1792 to 1815 was not to leave her untouched. Emboldened by the fact that she had hitherto escaped visits from British squadrons, the merchants of Senegal forgot the ease with which their fortifications had been carried half a century before, and, with misplaced confidence, they commenced fitting out privateers, which preyed upon the small craft that carried on the trade between Bristol and the West African ports. Such conduct was not to be tolerated, and in July, 1809, a couple of frigates with a small detachment of black troops proceeded to St. Louis. The naval officer in command landed a couple of hundred men and proceeded over the bar with his lighter craft to take up a position opposite Fort St. Louis. Cut off from all assistance, the Governor had no alternative but to surrender, and on the 17th of July Senegal once more passed into our hands without the loss of a single man. By the Treaty of Paris of 1815 it was again restored to the French, and since then every effort has been made to improve its commercial value.

Immediately following the Restoration, the Governor, Colonel Schmaltz, entered into an alliance with the chiefs of the tribe of Oualoo, the province surrounding St. Louis, and he thus acquired the right of cultivating and establishing plantations in all places he thought proper. Then were sown the seeds of a French protectorate over the district, and of a war between

those native tribes who cling to the old Mahomedan hatred of Giaours, and those who had virtually submitted to their yoke. In a few years these internecine quarrels had grown to such an extent that the most complete anarchy prevailed in the whole district of Senegal. The French, availing themselves of the magnificent waterway afforded them by that river, had established trading stations as far up it as Bakel, at the junction of the Falema and Oulema rivers, and thus to a certain extent had secured the traffic of the country; but beyond reach of their posts open war raged—war which paralyzed commerce and cast defiance at their authority. Ever and anon a small war steamer was despatched up the river on one of those civilizing missions which the French have pursued with such success on the coasts of Madagascar and Annam.

All villages within range of the ship's guns were bombarded and set on fire, crops burnt, and the tribes reduced to misery and to desperation. The very fact that the white men never landed troops, never ventured to meet the native races face to face, but, secure in the shelter of their unassailable steamer, dealt death and destruction from a distance, only served to heighten the anger their presence inspired. The French merchants, too, were far from being satisfied with the state of affairs. Governor followed Governor with startling rapidity, no fewer than thirty-two officers were called on to administer the government in the space of forty years (1817–1857). Cut off from regular communication with the mother country, each man did as it seemed good in his own eyes, and varied, in so far as it suited him, the policy of his predecessors. At one time a weak, hesitating, temporizing policy was adopted with regard to the natives, at another stern, rigorous, nay, cruel measures of repression. In one thing only was a certain consistency observed—free trade was forbidden, and the French merchants only permitted to buy and sell at Government depôts. Such a line of conduct was well calculated to cause a conflict between the official and the non-official element, and soon the antagonism between these two classes became as marked as the hostility between white and black—between Ouala and Maure. The commerce of the colony, restricted by the absurd limits imposed by successive Governors,

was gradually drifting into the hands of the English, when in 1851 the merchants, gaining the ear of the Minister in Paris, found means to submit to him a series of demands. These aimed at a total reformation of existing institutions, the erection of certain works destined for the protection of merchants trading in the upper waters of the Senegal, and other measures devised for the encouragement of those desirous of entering upon the cultivation of lands purchased from friendly natives.

These demands were met in a liberal spirit by the French Government, who, however, did not lose sight of the fact that Senegal was a commercial, not an agricultural, colony. The disastrous attempts to introduce European agriculturalists into the country in the preceding century were not forgotten, and the memorialists were warned of the many difficulties that faced those who wished to embark in cultivation. The unhealthiness of the most fertile lands, the danger of attack from neighbouring tribes, the impossibility of exacting manual labour from Europeans, or even strict supervision by Europeans over natives under a tropical sun, the disinclination of the natives to perform regular work, the isolation and solitude of a planter's life, were all advanced as arguments against the attempt to convert Senegal into an agricultural colony.

As a commercial colony there was, maintained the Government, a great future before it, and with a view of advancing its prospects in this direction, fresh fortified posts were ordered to be built on the banks of the river for the protection of traders, and steam-tugs provided to facilitate the passage of river craft. The natives, however, were by no means disposed to acquiesce peaceably in these measures. During the troubles to which the injudicious proclamations of the Revolutionists of 1789 gave rise, all the French forts on the Upper Senegal had been destroyed, two only, viz., those of Richard Toll and Dagana being left standing. It was now decided to rebuild a fresh post on the site of the one which stood at Podor, about 180 miles above Saint Louis. In March, 1854, an expeditionary force, embarking upon some river gunboats, proceeded up stream, and after a succession of engagements with the riparian tribes, overcame all opposition, and completed the fort before the end

of November. In that month Colonel Faidherbe (who since gained imperishable renown in a campaign where French commanders showed themselves strangely destitute of all military attributes, except personal gallantry) arrived to assume the command of the colony. He found the country above Podor in a state of unusual ferment; for some years the presence of a Mahdi who, in consequence of a visit to Mecca, had assumed the title of Al Agni, had been encouraging the Mahomedans to abstain from all intercourse with the French, and fearing that his power would be sapped by the near approach of the Giaours, Al Agni answered the construction of the fort at Podor by the attempted destruction of the trading stations at Bakel and Semdoubon. Faidherbe showed the same energy for which he became so conspicuous sixteen years later. With the first rise of the river in the summer rains, he pushed his flotilla up to Medina, and there constructed a formidable work, on the site of one which had in the early days of the Restoration been held by one Duranton. This Duranton was a sailor, who, marrying a daughter of the Prince of Khasso, had exercised a marvellous influence over the surrounding country, and who, by his good sense, justice, and moderation, had paved the way for a French occupation of the Khasso country. Unfortunately, on his death, the fort of Medina, which he had constructed, had fallen into ruins, and the rise of the Mahdi Al Agni and the fanatical conversion to Islam of the surrounding tribes, had done much to counteract the influence which this extraordinary adventurer had exercised over the neighbourhood.

The completion of a chain of fortified posts up the Senegal led to increased trade with the interior; but Faidherbe saw the further necessity of creating stronger ties between the black population and the white settlers. The hostility of some of the tribes, notably the Trazzas and Maures, was so openly evinced as to necessitate the organization of a series of punitive expeditions. These were successfully undertaken in the cold weather of 1854–55, the result being the complete triumph of the French arms, and the annexation by France of the Province of Oualoo. In 1856 a fresh campaign was waged in the country to the north of the Senegal, Faidherbe being everywhere successful. But

the French found the task of holding the conquered tracts far more difficult than that of merely vanquishing their opponents. No sooner did their forces retire, than the blacks, recovering from their defeats, recommenced their old incursions, pillaging and destroying all villages which had submitted to the French yoke, advancing even up to the very walls of Saint Louis itself; and though the French fortified posts on the river held out, they were often reduced to grievous straits. In 1857, taking advantage of the dry season, when succour from the coast would be impossible, the indefatigable Al Agni subjected Medina to a close blockade of over four months. Assault after assault was repelled, but the position of the garrison, cut off from all communication with Saint Louis, reduced to half rations, and to their last case of ammunition, grew perilously dangerous. Realizing the terrible blow that would be dealt to the supremacy of the whole mass by its fall, in the middle of July Faidherbe, braving the suffocating heat, pushed a relieving force up the river, and swept away the undisciplined bands of the Mahdi. On his return voyage Faidherbe bridged the long space between Bakel and Podor by the construction of a fresh post at Matam.

In 1858 the indefatigable and gallant commander organized an expedition along the sea-coast, more for the purpose of surveying these unknown regions, and of demonstrating to the inhabitants that the French did not consider their rights of sovereignty, which had been acknowledged by the European Powers in the Treaties of Nimeguen, 1678, and of Versailles in 1783, as abrogated by more recent events.

In 1858 Al Agni, having recovered from his former defeats, profiting by Faidherbe's absence in the neighbourhood of Goree, had gathered together large forces, and without coming into actual contact with the garrisons of the posts at Bakel and Matam, had ravaged the villages in their vicinity which had shown themselves friendly to the French. On its return to Saint Louis, Faidherbe's little column found itself compelled once more to push up the great river, and drive Al Agni from a strongly fortified position he had taken up in the vicinity of Bakel. But the French met with very formidable resistance;

for three days their assaults on the enemy's entrenchments were repulsed, and they sustained serious losses. Defeat meant annihilation—retreat in the face of a population who were daily growing more and more hostile was impossible. Calling on his men for one final effort, Faidherbe stormed the place, inflicting terrible loss on its gallant defenders. The stern example meted out by the French general had an immediate effect; one by one the various chiefs came in, and a series of treaties were entered into with them: these treaties resulted in the submission of the whole country to the French, whose territories now stretched from the Atlantic to Medina, from Cape Blanc to the Gambia. Efforts were at once initiated to convert Senegal into a base for establishing French supremacy over the whole of the north-western portion of the continent.

Of late years fresh strides have been made towards this end, and very considerable sums of money are annually voted for the improvement of the colony. Wild dreams of connecting the Senegal and Niger by a railway have entered into the heads of French statesmen, and their dreams have the cordial encouragement of local speculators. In the debate in the Chamber, in 1883, on a vote for the completion of this railway, it was clearly proved that hitherto it had cost £40,000 a kilomètre, about £60,000 a mile — a very sufficient excuse for the undivided support accorded to the scheme by the colonists, who must perforce reap some benefit from the peculation which undoubtedly exists in the construction of the line.

The boundaries of the colony of Senegal have never been very clearly defined, and except on the west, where the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south, where the British settlement of Gambia forbids encroachment, the French are rather apt to consider their frontier as unlimited. A few years ago M. Jules Duval laid down Cape Blanc as the northernmost and Medina as the easternmost possession; but more recent events point to the not improbable incorporation of Morocco into the French colonial dominions, lying as it does so temptingly between Algeria and Senegal, whilst efforts are undoubtedly being made to connect the watercourse of the Senegal and

the Niger, and to bring the Western Soudan under the government of St. Louis and Goree.

In the neighbourhood of the sea the territory is flat, and the soil being sandy, destitute alike of cultivation and verdure, is very sparsely populated; but along the eastern border of Senegal proper (leaving on one side the legitimate desire of the French to push back her frontier) runs a chain of mountains, the Fonta Djalon, from which flow a series of rivers which irrigate the highlands and add much to the wealth of the country. The Senegal itself is a noble stream, capable of navigation by river steamers for some hundreds of miles; it has its source in the Fonta Djalon range. On a small island, a few miles from its mouth, lies the capital of the colony of St. Louis, four bridges connecting the island with the left bank of the river.

Public Works.—The most strenuous efforts are now being made by the French Government to develop the commercial resources of the colony. In the days of General Faidherbe it was judged indispensable, in order to secure uninterrupted water communication between St. Louis and the waters of Upper Senegal, to construct forts at various trading stations along the river bank. Vast sums were thus spent in military works. In more recent years the tendency has been to improve the means of communication between the sea and the interior by means of railroads, macadamised high roads, canals and commercial ports, in the upper waters of the minor streams. To this end in view the Local Budget annually allots £48,000 towards the Department of Public Works. This, however, does not include the sums voted for the railway now in course of construction from St. Louis to Dakar, which is a charge to the Budget of Marine and the Colonies. The total length of this line it is estimated will be 259 kilométres, about 167 miles. As yet some 25 miles only are open, and their cost has averaged £64,000 a mile, a sum which staggered not a little the Chamber of Deputies, when in the session of 1884–1885, it was called upon to vote a further sum of some millions of francs towards the furtherance of the scheme.

Large sums have been needlessly expended in the construc-

tion of a European town at Dakar. The plan of this new city has been drawn up, streets traced, concessions granted to private individuals, and a series of handsome public offices completed. A jail, cathedral, and Courts of Justice have swallowed up over £100,000 of the public money, but as yet not more than twenty private houses have been built, and Dakar promises to rival the earlier attempts of the Bourbon kings to construct cities in places where the life of a European was unbearable.

Other sums have been more usefully expended on light-houses, piers, and on waterworks destined to supply St. Louis with pure fresh water, the want of which has been the principal source of the unhealthiness of the place. Unfortunately, another source has been the lack of drainage, and to remedy this no efforts have been made; consequently in smells St. Louis rivals Cologne, and in typhoid fevers it almost equals a Breton watering-place.

According to the latest census the population of the country showed a startling preponderance of females over the male element, the respective numbers being

Males	92,065
Females	99,543

The average death-rate being over thirty per thousand.

Government and Administration.—The colony, which is represented in the Chambers by one deputy, is divided into three Communes—

1. St. Louis, which returns ten members to the Conseil Général of the colony.
2. Goree, which returns six.
3. Rufisque, which is unrepresented.

The Governor of Senegal is assisted in the administration by the usual colonial assemblies, a Conseil Privé, Conseil Général, Conseil Contentieux, whilst each Commune is presided over by a mayor, with two or more *adjoints* and a municipal council.

Justice.—Justice is administered, as in the other colonies of

the same category, by a Court of Appeal, a Court of Assize for criminal cases, Tribunals at St. Louis and Goree, and by Juges de Paix in the chief towns of the Communes.

As in the other colonies, the various codes which are in force in France guide the course of Criminal and Civil jurisdiction in Senegal. Certain obvious modifications have been introduced, but the absurdity of applying laws founded for a European State to a Mahomedan community has done much to embitter the feeling between Christian and Moslem, and is the cause of many of those endless conflicts which necessitate the presence of such a strong army of occupation in Senegal.

Education.—As yet the primary schools in Senegal have not been removed from the religious orders; the missionaries of the Society of Saint Esprit, and the Sisters of that of St. Joseph of Cluny, offer instruction to 802 boys and 324 girls. For secondary education youths are forwarded to Paris, the colony maintaining a certain number of free scholars in the principal Lycées of the mother country.

Religion.—The Order of the Saint Esprit, which has undertaken the primary instruction of the boys in the colony, also furnishes priests for the various mission stations scattered throughout Senegal; recently these have been placed under a bishop, whose nomination is in the hands of the Governor of the colony.

Agriculture and Commerce.—Owing to tribal quarrels, and the endless petty wars in which France for many years was engaged, agriculture sank to a very low ebb, and large tracts of land, which up to 1850 were in a high state of cultivation, lapsed into sheer jungle. Within the last few years efforts have been made to remedy this state of things, and large distributions of seeds have been made to the riparian owners with very beneficial results; still there is no doubt that Senegal can never become an agricultural colony, so far as Frenchmen or other European races are concerned. To them it must ever prove attractive for commerce alone; and though by judicious supervision the natives may be led to improve their agricultural products and to develop the growth of cotton, tobacco, and rice, for which the soil in many parts is

very suitable, Europeans can have no active part in the development of plantations.

The commerce of the country consists of the same articles which we draw from our own West African colonies, viz., beniseed, palm kernels, gold-dust, india-rubber, and feathers, whilst the imports are cotton and iron goods, wine and spirits and tobacco.

The trade returns for 1881 are dealt with in the Appendix.

The total trade of the colony is steadily increasing, as the following Table of Imports and Exports with the mother country shows:—

	Exports to France.	Imports from France.
1876 . . .	£368,222	£190,687
1877 . . .	426,083	194 228
1878 . . .	473,844	194,368
1879 . . .	517,132	246,916
1880 . . .	791,339	313.856
1881 . . .	1,046,393	728,904

Finances.—The finances of the colony are provided for in two budgets, the one the Local Budget, which is drawn up by the Governor in Council; the other comprises those items of expenditure which the Minister of Marine considers may fairly be borne by the mother country. The expenditure may be thus summed up—

Local Budget Expenditure . . .	£107,390
*Budget of Minister of Marine . . .	597,694
	£705,084

As the railway progresses, and the communication now being actively pushed on between the waters of the Upper Senegal and the Niger are gradually opened, the expenses of the colony will naturally increase, but it is anticipated that the increase will be amply compensated for by the trade which will be diverted from English to French ports. Whether the French are justified in this belief it does not concern us to inquire, but a brief comparison between the West African colonies belonging to the two Powers will be of interest as showing how

* For details *see* Appendix No. I.

the last comers have outstripped their predecessors in everything that tends to make colonies of value to a country. This comparison I have given in Table No. 10.

But it is evident that it will be many years before any appreciable advantage will result from the vast expenditure France is now making. The Customs dues in 1881 amounted to £76,000, and even with dues at the present rates, commerce will require to advance by leaps and bounds ere there is any hope of the French Government receiving any substantial return for the outlay they are now incurring.

Garrison and Naval Services.—In Senegal, as in other parts of Africa, France stands with the sword drawn ready for any fanatical outbreak on the part of the Mahomedans against their Catholic ruler, and her army of occupation bears a very strong proportion to the inhabitants it is called on to keep in order.

The troops comprise—

EUROPEANS.		
6 Companies of Infantry of the Marine	1,500 men	
2 Batteries of Artillery of the Marine	300 „	
1 Company of Engineers	150 „	
1 „ Gendarmerie of the Marine	150 „	
1 „ Disciplinary Troops	150	
		2,250
NATIVES.		
1 Squadron of Spahis	120 „	
1 Company Engineers	250 „	
2 Battalions Senegal Tirailleurs	1,600 „	
		1,970
		4,220

The Naval squadron employed on the coast consists of seven craft, with a complement of 31 officers and 490 men, but in addition to these vessels, 13 small steamers of light draught with crews of 271 officers and men, are maintained by the colony for the purpose of patrolling the river and affording assistance to merchant vessels trading in the upper waters.

The other French settlements on the West Coast of Africa are Gaboon and the small trading stations of Grand Bassam, Dabou, and Assinie, on the Gold Coast. As these so-called Colonies extend from the equator to about 7° north of the line, it may readily be conceived that European labour is impossible, and Native labour unprofitable. Life for the European, indeed, is almost unsupportable, and the French Government have, for prudential reasons, suppressed the garrisons in the minor ports, and reduced that of Gaboon to the minimum.

The connection between France and these coasts dates from as far back as the year 1364, when some adventurous merchants of Dieppe, pushing onwards from Cape de Verde, visited the coasts of the Gulf of Guinea, and, returning with their rich freights of gold-dust and ivory, introduced into that town the ivory carving trade, for which it has since been famous. In the reign of Charles the Fifth of France the relations between the French and the inhabitants of the West Coast became more extended, a regular fleet being maintained in Dieppe or Rouen; vessels from these ports made annual voyages to the coast, at various points of which trading stations were established by the French settlers. During the many wars with England in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries these stations were visited and destroyed by our fleets, and ere the dawn of the present century the French had finally abandoned all points south of Senegal.

About the year 1836 the Government of July, wishing to re-establish the colonial supremacy of France in those regions whereby the Treaty of Paris it had been rudely hurled to the ground, despatched naval officers on missions to different parts of the globe with a view of ascertaining the possibility of carrying into effect its wishes on this subject.

Captain Bouet-Willaumez was entrusted with the task of reopening communications with the chiefs on the West Coast of Africa, and on his representations, a series of expeditions were despatched from Senegal in the years 1842–44 to ratify treaties which Willaumez had entered into with the sovereign of Gaboon Assinie, and Grand Bassam.

Gaboon was occupied in the year 1842, in virtue of a treaty

with a petty kinglet whose lands lay at the mouth of the Rhamboe river. Since then treaty has followed treaty, until at the present moment France claims the sovereignty over many thousand square miles of country stretching from the Wango river in the south to Cape St. Jean on the north, a distance of about 87 miles, including the fine harbour at the mouth of the Gaboon, a harbour 23 miles in length, varying from 3 to 8 in breadth, and capable of giving shelter to an incalculable number of the largest vessels. The commerce of the colony, however, has not developed to the extent which this harbour is capable of providing for, the average number of vessels entering it having been for the last ten years one hundred and twenty-six.

Population.—As no very accurate delimitation of the French possessions in Gaboon has yet been published it is impossible to give an approximate estimate of their population. There are about 200 Europeans of the official and trading classes in the colony, but of the natives no census has been made. The chief tribes are the Fans and Osyevas, who in former days owned the territory on both banks of the Gaboon, but there are a great number of nomad races who carry on a trade between the interior of the country and the coast establishments.

Government and Administration.—Gaboon, for all administrative purposes, is attached to Senegal, an officer being deputed from that colony to act as commandant. This gentleman is assisted by members of the "Service Intérieur," and of the Judicial Service, who, together with two merchants named by the President, form a "Conseil d'Administration."

Justice.—All criminal cases of a serious nature are referred to Senegal, but a Tribunal of the First Instance exists at Fort Aumale, where minor offences and civil or commercial cases are disposed of in accordance with the laws of the mother country. The Commandant, however, possesses wide discretionary powers in dealing with crimes committed by natives who are not French citizens, or who are too ignorant to avail themselves of the privilege of that high position; so that in point of fact few criminal cases are referred to the Courts of Senegal.

Religion and Education.—A small sum has been allotted by the French Government for religious service, but hitherto the various educational establishments have been the results of efforts made by American Protestant missionaries.

Public Works.—Small sums have been allocated from time to time, both by the Local Budget and by that of the Government of the Republic for the construction of necessary public works. These have been restricted to the erection of water-works for the supply of the chief towns, and of a lighthouse dominating the outer roadstead. A hospital and insignificant market-place have also been built.

Agriculture and Commerce.—Within a few years of the annexation a M. Lecomte foresaw the advantages that might ensue from a proper appreciation by the natives of the capability of their soil. With this end in view, in 1852 he laid out large gardens in the vicinity of the harbours, where coffee, cocoa, and spices were planted, but his efforts have not been attended with any wide results, though the French Government, with its usual ignorance of the art of colonization, has endeavoured from time to time to introduce agricultural labourers into Gaboon by offering concessions of large tracts of land, free in some cases, at low prices in others.

The principal imports to the colony are Manchester and Birmingham goods for the use of the natives, and wine and spirits as articles of barter for the merchants, whose exports are limited to gold-dust, ivory, ebony, india-rubber, and palm oil.

Finances.—The revenue of the colony is represented by the modest sum of £48, the produce of personal taxes levied on the few European inhabitants. To this is added by the State £2,482, in payment of the various officials who represent France in the Gaboon. By this means an equilibrium is maintained between receipts and expenditure.

Grand Bassam, Dabou, and Assinie are small stations occupied by detachments from Senegal, with a view of affording protection to the French merchants who are occupied in trade in the Gulf of Guinea. It was more with the object of recovering her lost influence on the West Coast of Africa that France

re-established these settlements, which had been abandoned during the wars of the Revolution, than with any hope of receiving any pecuniary benefits.

GRAND BASSAM is situated at the mouth of the Ackba river in lat. 5° N., and 80° W., whilst ASSINIE is about 27 miles to the north. Neither of these posts call for any remarks, though they obtain from the French Government an average annual subvention of about £9,000.

CHAPTER III.

RÉUNION AND ISLANDS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

Its Discovery and Temporary Occupation by Dutch and English—Permanent Occupation by French—Its Privateers during the Anglo-French Wars—Its Blockade in 1794—Surcouf and his Successors Lemême, Dutertre, Counon, Potier, Malrousse—Capture of Rodriguez and Réunion in 1810—Population—Government and Administration — Justice — Education — Religion—Public Works—Cultivation and Commerce—Finances.

RÉUNION is another of those islands which during the last great war passed into our hands, to be restored on the Treaty of Paris to its present owners. Discovered in 1545 by the Portuguese explorer, Don Pedro de Mascarenhas, it for many years bore his name; it was successively occupied, but for brief periods, by the Dutch and the English, but no permanent settlement took place until the year 1638, when the French, in their first attack of colonial fever, endeavoured to form an establishment on the island for one of their numerous trading companies. Ten years later this company had so far made good its footing that the Isle de Mascarenhas was formally taken possession of on behalf of his Most Christian Majesty of France, and in his honour its Portuguese name was changed to that of Bourbon. The tentatives at colonization made by Richelieu were not crowned with success, and thirty years had not elapsed before Colbert founded a second East India Company. The islands of Madagascar, Bourbon, and Mauritius were incorporated in the new colony, the head-quarters of which were at Pondicherry; but owing to the distance of the Coromandel Coast from the group of islands in the Indian Ocean, Madagascar was made the seat of Government for the southern portion of the colony. The attempts to form an establishment in the great African

isle were not successful, and on the withdrawal of the French from Madagascar at the end of the seventeenth century, Bourbon and the Mauritius were united under one Governor as a fresh dependency, and were converted into naval stations for the purpose of harassing the trade between England and the East. How successfully they carried out this intention the history of the time plainly shows. Numerous were the losses our East India fleets suffered at the hands of French cruisers, who could always run for shelter and refit to the friendly ports of St. Louis or St. Denis. Unprovided as our squadrons were with such harbours of refuge, these islands became sources of great danger to our commerce, lying as they did in the very fairway of trade between England and all her Eastern markets. Fully employed as our fleets were in protecting the waters nearer home from the depredations of the enemy's squadrons and privateers, successive Ministries failed to recognize the necessity of so strengthening our navy as to provide for the efficient patrolling of distant seas, and the naval history of the last century shows that our boasted naval supremacy merely existed in name, at any rate in the Indian Ocean. Our merchant vessels, scattered all over the world, were a prey to the privateers which the hardy seamen of St. Malo knew so well how to fit out. Gifted with a prescience which cost us millions, these men eschewed their own immediate neighbourhood, where our own cruisers made privateering dangerous, and betook themselves to the Isle de France and to Bourbon, and inflicted the most grievous loss on our East Indian and China trade.

The summer visitors to the watering-place of Dinard, on the Breton coast, little dream that St. Malo has given birth to some of the most renowned privateers France has ever possessed, and that in the now abandoned shipbuilding yards of La Richardais were fitted out cruisers which never hesitated to face tenfold odds when in quest of prey. To the ordinary tourist the names of Dougay-Trouin, Surcouf, and Lemême recall no reminiscences, but the books of our East Indian merchants of the eighteenth and of the early days of the nineteenth century would show many entries relating to prizes

captured by the two last-named, whose deeds rival those of Dundonald, and whose names should be immortally entwined with the enthralling history of their virgin town.

The outbreak of the war between France and England, in 1793, found the former Power but little prepared for regular naval warfare. Royalist to the backbone, the officers of the navy had been hurried off before Republican tribunals, and their places filled by men ignorant of naval tactics, and little fitted to face the tried seamen of England. The population of Brittany and Normandy, whence the crews of French ships of war had been drawn, were engaged in that Royalist struggle which only terminated with the death of Rochejacquelin and the wholesale murder of the prisoners of Quiberon. The crews of the fleets which prior to the Peace of Versailles had waged an honourable and by no means unequal war with our own squadrons were too tainted with the love of the Bourbon to be trusted under the Republican charlatans to whom the Directory had entrusted their naval fortunes, and these veterans had been drafted off into battalions on the Eastern frontier, and placed under the orders of Dumourier and Pichegru.

But if the state of the Republican navy forbad all hope of waging an equal warfare with the fleets of England, if the terrible odds to which the Republican armies were exposed on their Eastern borders forbad all prospect of a successful campaign in the East, or of redeeming by the conquest of Southern India the follies committed by the Peace of Versailles, the seamen of the northern ports of France looked forward to reaping a rich harvest by privateering in the Indian seas. In this they were not disappointed.

In the years 1793, 1794, French privateers captured no fewer than 788 English merchantmen, whilst our squadrons, more numerous, more heavily armed, and carrying five times as heavy crews, trammelled by official prejudices, only took 151 prizes. The merchants of Calcutta and Madras stood aghast. Commerce was at a standstill, our cruisers were outwitted, and on more than one occasion, in spite of their heavier metal, had been compelled to haul down their flags to the pigmy privateers hailing from the Port of St. Malo.

The most earnest and urgent representations were made by the East India Company to the Home Government, and it was determined to blockade the islands of La France and Bourbon, which had been made the base of operations for these gallant men. Then, as now, half measures were invariably adopted by British Ministries, and though it was determined to blockade the islands, these duties were entrusted to but two vessels, the *Centurion*, 50, Captain Osborne, and the *Diomede*, 44, Captain Smith. The smallness of the squadron not merely prevented the Commander from adopting any efficacious measures to carry out his orders, but encouraged the Governor of the islands in his prosperous career. He was virtually cut off from all communication with the mother country. The members of the Convention were putting forth all their strength in the double attempt to trample out the embers of Royalism in La Vendée, in Toulon, and in Lyon, and to hurl back the invading armies which the monarchs of Europe were leading against them from all sides. Their distant colonies troubled them little, and so the Governor of the Isle de France and of Bourbon was free to act as it pleased him; and it pleased him to live on English commerce, and to rival the naval successes of de Suffren in Indian waters.

The first step was, if possible, to relieve the islands of the blockading squadron, although its presence had done little to increase the security of the Indian Ocean. For in the year 1794, 502 English vessels had been captured by our enemies, whilst we had only secured forty-seven French prizes. In October, 1794, an opportunity occurred to attack the British squadron, and Captain Renaud, with the *Cybèle*, 36, *Prudente*, 36, *Courier*, 14, and *Jean Bart*, a privateer carrying 20 guns, succeeded, after a desperate engagement, in which the British, outmatched, fought with their accustomed heroism, in inflicting such loss upon our two vessels as to compel them to renounce the blockade. Thus relieved, the colonists were free to turn their attention solely to privateering, and a record of their successes reads strangely to those who yet believe that during the last great war we were entirely Mistress of the Seas.

The history of Surcouf, the daring Malouine privateer, is not

flattering to our national vanity, but it teaches us a lesson which should not be lost on our naval administrators. Leaving Isle de France in September, 1795, in a little craft of 180 tons with a crew of thirty Bretons, and an armament of four six pounders, he commenced a career which for daring and sagacity has rarely been equalled, even in our own annals. Sailing northwards, Surcouf coasted the Burmese coasts, and in December he captured the *Penguin*, an Indiaman of 600 tons burthen: in January, at the very mouth of the Hooghly he sighted two full-rigged ships standing in to the Sandheads under charge of a pilot-brig; with characteristic audacity Surcouf attacked and captured the two, when, finding the pilot-brig more suitable for his purpose than his own little craft, he transferred his flag on board of her, christening her the *Jacques Cartier*, after another celebrated Malouine sailor, and despatched the *Emile* with the three prizes to the Isle of France. On the 28th of the same month he captured a full-rigged ship, the *Diana*, 850 tons, laden with rice; and on the following morning, after a desperate combat, in which the *Jacques Cartier*, with a crew of seventeen men, immortalized herself, he carried by boarding an Indiaman, the *Triton*, carrying 26 guns and 150 men. Hampered by the prisoners, Surcouf ransomed the *Diana* to her captain for 30,000 rupees. To the shame of our countryman, it must be recorded that the bill was dishonoured on presentation, and the gallant sailor thus deprived of a considerable portion of the profits resulting from his daring cruise. On reaching the Isle of France with the *Triton* and *Jacques Cartier*, Surcouf found that the Governor, M. de Malartie, was disposed to ignore the validity of his acts, and refused to recognize the captured prizes as Surcouf's property, or to accept his views as to the disposal of the proceeds of their sale. Surcouf immediately sailed for France, and, after some trouble, succeeded in inducing the Council of the Five Hundred to give a decision in his favour; but by the chicanery which distinguished that august assembly, the dashing sailor had to content himself with less than a moiety of the value of his prizes, securing on behalf of himself and his crew but 660,000 out of the 1,700,000 francs for which

they had been sold. In 1799, with the remnants of his fortune, the major part of which had been dissipated in true sailor-like manner, Surcouf fitted out a brig, the *Clarisse*, carrying 12 guns, and in her sailed for his old cruising grounds, the Isle of France and Bourbon. On his voyage he captured two full-rigged merchantmen, and narrowly evading capture by the squadron blockading the Isle of France, succeeded in conveying them safely to Bourbon. In August of the same year he took a Dutch ship carrying an English cargo, and, consequently by the declaration of the Directory, good and lawful prize. A Portuguese vessel was similarly forfeited, and an Indiaman of 700 tons, the *Auspicious*, also captured. Narrowly escaping capture at the hands of the *Sybil*, of 48 guns, Surcouf pursued his victorious career by boarding the *James* and the *Louise*, two fine merchantman, one flying the British, the other the American flag, and on reaching the Isle of France with his prizes he was offered the command of *La Confiance*, a magnificent craft of 500 tons, carrying 16 guns, and manned by 200 picked Basque and Breton sailors. She had the reputation of being the fastest vessel afloat, and the young privateer may well have felt proud to command her. In September, 1800, he took one American and two English traders, and on the 7th of October, after a desperate combat, in which Surcouf showed even more than his usual address and gallantry, he carried by boarding the fine Indiaman, the *Kent*, of 820 tons, 27 guns, having on board 437 Englishmen, of whom 120 were soldiers. In this action Surcouf lost 16 men killed and wounded, the casualties on the *Kent* amounting, according to James, to 58. On reaching the Isle of France with his prizes, Surcouf was ordered home, in order that *La Confiance* might receive a heavier armament; and whilst she was in the dockyard hands at La Rochelle, the Peace of Amiens put a stop to hostilities, and for four years Surcouf led a life of inactivity in his native town. In 1806, panting for his old career on the Indian Ocean, he fitted out one of the smartest sailers ever turned out of the chantiers on the Rance, and on the 7th of March again sailed for the Isle of France. His new ship was named the *Revenant*, and carried 18 guns and 200 men. The news of his intended

reappearance in Indian waters caused no small consternation amongst the merchants of Hindostan, and a reward of £10,000 was offered for his capture. Reaching his destination without meeting with any adventure, Surcouf, after refitting, sailed to the Malabar coast, and on the 26th of September captured the *Trafalgar*, 12, and the *Mangles*, 14, both carrying cargoes of rice; in the course of the next few days five more vessels, the *Admiral Aplin*, *Susanna*, *Hunter*, *Fortune* and *Success*, were captured, and in November the *New Endeavour* and the *Micawby* were placed under prize crews, and despatched to the Isle of France. In the following month he captured the *Sir William Burroughs* and the *Orient*, and now, his own complement having been reduced to seventy men, owing to the heavy prize crews he had been compelled to detach, Surcouf determined to bear up for the Isle of France, where, having disposed of his prizes, he set sail for St. Malo in the autumn of 1808, with a fortune estimated at £200,000.

Another Malouine divided with Surcouf the honour of mastership of the Indian Ocean. The early life of François Lemême had been chequered by an incident which embittered his whole career, and rendered him an undying foe to the British. In the year 1781, when but eighteen years of age, he was captured in the privateer *Prince de Mombany*, and until the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles tasted the sweets of English prison life, a life which in the last century was characterized by unnecessary harshness and brutality—brutality which was intensified to the members of privateer crews. The treatment he there received was never forgotten by Lemême, and when in 1793 the news of war having been declared between France and England reached the Isle of France, where his ship chanced to be lying, the sturdy Breton called for volunteers, and purchasing twelve carronades, he speedily converted the *Hirondelle* into a dangerous foe to English commerce.

His first prizes were two large Dutch Indiamen, carrying respectively 18 and 40 guns, and with the money derived from their sale he purchased a fine cruiser, the *Ville de Bordeaux*, 32 guns, and manning her with 200 men in October, 1794, once more set sail for the Bay of Bengal. After capturing

two English vessels, he ravaged the Dutch settlements in Sumatra, securing as his own share booty to the extent of £40,000. Transferring his flag on his return to the Isle of France successively to the *Amphitrite* and *l'Uni*, Lemême for two years scoured the Indian seas, capturing in all seventeen merchantmen. His career was cut short by Captain Adam of the *Sybil*, who, on the 31st December, 1801, compelled him to strike his flag, and Lemême was sent a prisoner to England. Released by the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, Lemême entered into partnership with a banker at St. Malo; but his knowledge of business was limited, and whilst he was acquiring the experience necessary for commercial success, his roguish partner was amassing that capital which he needed to enable him to prosecute his calling single-handed. In less than twelve months Lemême had lost all he possessed, and turned once more to the sea as the only means of retrieving his shattered fortunes. Towards the end of 1803 we find him once more clearing out from the port of Saint Malo on a fine brig, the *Fortune*, 12, carrying a crew of 160 men. The success of his second venture was marvellous, but it was brought to a speedy close. On the 7th November, 1804, the *Fortune* fell in with the *Concord*, 48, a frigate which had been specially detached to search for Lemême, and after a sharp combat of a couple of hours, the brave privateer was a prisoner on the English frigate. In the short space of ten months Lemême had captured fifteen vessels and realized £82,000; but he never lived to enjoy his easily gotten fortune, as he died on the *Walthamstow* during the voyage to England, being thus spared a third sojourn on those hulks which were a disgrace to our boasted civilization.

Dutertre, Counon, Potier and Malrousse of St. Malo, and Pinaud of Nantes, were equally daring privateers, who made the Isles of France and of Bourbon the base of operations daring in their inception and galling in their results to British commerce.

In the month of October, 1798, Dutertre captured the following English vessels: the *Surprise, Princess Royal, Thomas, Lord Hobart, Governor North*, and *Wellesley*; but in the following year his little craft, the *Malartie*, named after the Governor of

the Isle of France, was captured by the *Phœnix*, 16, and Dutertre despatched to England as a prisoner of war. Released by the Peace of Amiens, he, like Surcouf and Lemême, recommenced his fascinating career, and in the year 1803–4 he captured the *Rebecca, Active, Clarendon, Addington, William, Admiral Rainier, Actæon, Warren Hastings*, all fine Indiamen, ranging from 650 to 800 tons, and several small coasting craft.

To the Malouines belong the glory of never disdaining to face the most unequal odds. Potier, in the *Revenant*, 18, attacked and captured a Portuguese man-of-war the *Conceçao*, carrying 54 guns ; whilst Malrousse, on the *Iphigénie*, 18, fought a most gallant action with H.M.S. *Trincomalee*, of the same number of guns, but of far heavier metal.

To these we must add the names of Coutance, Peron, Henri, Tranchmère, Le Sage, and others whose deeds still live in the memories of the Malouines, always ready to laud the gallant actions of a town ever renowned for its naval heroes.

It can readily be imagined that the successes of the privateers of the Isle of France and of Bourbon struck terror into the hearts of the merchants of the East Indies ; it is true that trade was never at a standstill, but the insurance offices demanded the most exorbitant premia, and on more than one occasion the Governor-General had prevented vessels leaving the Hooghly owing to the proximity of the privateers. In point of fact these small craft blockaded our Eastern ports, and, secure in their island harbour, it was idle to hope that their ravages could be checked until their base of operations had been wrested from them.

In 1799, Lord Wellesley determined on practically carrying out this idea, but the expeditionary force collected for this purpose was necessarily diverted to Egypt, and so Sir David Baird was then denied the honour of commanding an army which should cross swords with the French.

After the outbreak of the war in 1803, we have seen that the successes of the privateers were greater than ever, but our naval strength was inadequate for the double task of protecting the Indian coasts and sweeping the Indian seas. To attempt a descent on the islands was beyond our power, but at last the

indignation of the mercantile community grew to such a pitch that Lord Minto, in 1809, determined to put into execution Lord Wellesley's plans.

The task was no light one. Both the Isles of France and Bourbon were defended by powerful works; the navigation, difficult on account of the many reefs which surround them, was rendered doubly difficult by reason of the cyclones which sweep the Indian Ocean with resistless fury; but the heavy losses sustained by insurance companies at the hands of the French vessels of war, which, making these islands their head-quarters, preyed upon our commerce, compelled our Government to resort to action, and in September, 1809, a small expedition was fitted out for the purpose of reconnoitring the islands, ascertaining the force garrisoning them, and thus enabling the Governor-General of India to draw up a more complete plan of action. A squadron, under the command of Commodore J. Rowley, consisting of one line-of-battle ship, three frigates, and a couple of Indiamen, having on board 350 Madras troops under Colonel Keatinge, rendezvoused off Réunion on the 20th of September, and at dawn on the following morning a landing party, made up to 600 strong with the addition of some Blue-jackets and Marines, disembarked without opposition, and had carried the two principal batteries commanding the harbour of St. Paul's before the Governor was aware of the proximity of a hostile force. No sooner was the British flag hoisted over these batteries than the squadron stood in to the harbour and secured a French frigate, retook two fine East Indiamen, lying captured under her guns, and made prizes of fourteen French ships laden with sugar, coffee, &c. The Governor of the island, M. Des Boulais, made no attempt at dislodging the British, and they were enabled to effect the object of their expedition, and to withdraw from the island with property valued at half a million sterling, 123 guns of different calibres, and with information of an equally valuable character, without the loss of a man.

The expedition now sailed to Rodriguez, where it disembarked, Colonel Keatinge returning to Madras to lay before the Governor-General the plans for the reduction of the recently visited island.

He found Lord Minto still bent on the project, but the Madras Army had but just emerged from a troublous period of disaffection, during which the British officers in the service of the East India Company had displayed an insubordinate, not to say mutinous, spirit; but few English troops could be spared, the islands were, it was known, not only well fortified, but strongly garrisoned, and the recent expedition would doubtless have the effect of putting the garrison on their guard. The prospect of pitting Madras infantry against Bonaparte's veterans was not one affording much encouragement.

The Governor-General of India was, however, a man worthy of the trust reposed in him; the firmness with which he quelled the white mutiny at Madras was on a par with the military prescience he displayed in organizing the expedition against Bourbon and the Mauritius. He is not the only one of his family who has shown himself possessed of soldierlike qualities. A long line of Elliots have graced our fighting services from that day until now. During the recent campaigns in Spain, Turkey and Afghanistan, Gilbert Elliot, Viscount Melgund, displayed such cool courage, such ready resources, such an aptitude for soldiering, that though but an amateur on-looker, he was selected by Lord Wolseley, in the Egyptian campaign of 1882, for the command of the Mounted Infantry, and received a wound and a brevet majority for his conspicuous service; being, I believe, the first Volunteer officer wounded in action, as he is the only one who has received promotion for war services, if I except H.S.H. the Prince of Teck. Later still, Lord Melgund greatly distinguished himself in the suppression of Riel's rebellion in Canada in 1885.

Early in June, 1810, Lord Minto's plans were matured, and two brigades, each consisting of a Line battalion, and two battalions of Madras troops, in all 3,600 men, under the command of Colonels Fraser and Macleod, with Keatinge as Commander-in-Chief, sailed from Madras, arriving off Bourbon on the 8th of July. The landing was effected in three columns; the 86th County Downs, with one Madras corps, disembarked at Grande Chaloupe; a party of Blue-jackets, with some ships' guns, were immediately intrenched in a commanding position,

to cut off all communication between the towns of St. Paul and St. Denis. The second column, consisting of some Blue-jackets, Marines, and a Madras regiment, under Captain Willoughby, R.N., occupied the hills overlooking the Rivière de Pluies; the third column, which was composed of the 69th Foot and a Madras corps, was landed further to the right. No attempt was made by the French to oppose the disembarkation of our troops, who on the following morning advanced upon St. Denis. The column moving from Grande Chaloupe found its way barred by a considerable force of the enemy, numbering over 5,000 men, their flank resting on a formidable redoubt. The 86th were not to be denied, and, though outnumbered ten to one, our men broke into a charge and drove the French pell-mell from the field, capturing the redoubt, and thus opening up communication with the naval detachment under Captain Willoughby. This column displaying equal forwardness and gallantry, had carried a similar work armed with ten guns. The French having lost their outworks, now retired into the capital, which was strongly defended: a very heavy fire was kept up on our troops, who suffered some loss. Colonel Keatinge accordingly directed some guns to be landed from the squadron, and made preparations for assaulting the place on the morrow, but at dawn the white flag was hoisted over the Commandant's quarters, and on the 10th of July, just one month after the expedition had sailed from Madras, the Island of Bourbon was in our hands, the loss of the victors being one officer and seventeen men killed and fifty-nine wounded. The French loss was trifling in killed and wounded, but 240 guns and 6,000 prisoners of war fell into our hands. Bourbon remained in the possession of the English until the year 1815, when, in virtue of the Treaty of Paris, it was restored to the French. Under the Restoration it still retained its old name, although for a brief period it was known as l'Ile Bonaparte, and it has for many years been more generally called "Réunion."

Population.—The population of Réunion amounts to 172,084, of whom 64,411 are coolies. Unlike the West Indian colonies, in Réunion the men are largely in excess of the women, the number being—

	Males.	Females.
Adult Whites	42,816	34,074
„ Coolies	33,607	10,743
Whites under 14 . . .	22,935	19,057
Coolies „ 14	5,911	4,941
	105,269	68,815

The coolies being thus subdivided :—

East Indians	42,519
Africans	21,284
Chinese	608

During the last three years the fluctuations in population show an increase in births, marriages, and deaths, but the preponderance of the latter and the practical suppression of immigrants from the East Indies, are elements which must materially affect the welfare of the island until steps are taken which shall improve the sanitary condition of the towns and plantations, and remove those hardships and cruelties which practically reduce the position of a coolie to that of a slave, and which of late years have been so unjustifiable, so shameless, as to compel the Indian Government to forbid the shipment of coolies to French colonies. This act of humanity on our part has given rise to a renewal of the slave-trade on the part of France. Under the guise of free labourers, the officials of the Republic now import plantation hands from the East Coast of Africa and the island of Madagascar. The following table explains itself:

	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.
1879 . . .	937	4,382	5,875
1880 . . .	1,089	4,529	6,148
1881 . . .	1,158	4,728	6,606
1882 . . .	1,237	4,861	6,983

Giving a mean death-rate during the past three years of 36 per thousand.

Government and Administration.—As regards its administration, Réunion is classed in the same category as Martinique and Guadaloupe; that is to say, the Governor is assisted by a Supreme Council, a Conseil Général, and a Conseil Contentieux,

elected in the same manner as in the other islands, whilst all local institutions are watched over by the mayors with their adjoints and Conseils Municipaux. For purposes of internal administration, the island is divided into sixteen Communes, which return thirty-six members to the Conseils Généraux. These Communes have considerable spending power, raising in rates and taxes over £100,000 per annum, the whole of which is spent in local improvements.

TABLE OF COMMUNES, WITH THEIR RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Commune.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Members returned to Conseil Général.
	Francs.	Francs.	
Saint Denis	625,196	625,196	6
Sainte Marie	73,386	73,386	3
Sainte Suzanne	82,299	82,299	...
Saint André	213,371	213,371	3
Salazie	68,070	68,070	...
Saint Benoit	198,050	198,050	4
Plaine des Palmister	28,479	28,479	...
Sainte Rose	55,425	55,425	...
Saint Paul	301,939	301,939	5
Saint Leu	108,160	108,160	2
Saint Louis	201,150	201,150	4
Saint Pierre	363,176	363,176	6
Saint Joseph	97,813	152,813	3
Saint Philippe	32,990	32,990	...
Entre Deux	64,271	87,431	...
Bras Panon	157,060	183,806	...
	2,670,835	2,775,741	36

We thus find that the municipal expenditure in Réunion reaches the respectable figure of £111,030, being an excess over receipts of more than £4,000.

On the establishment of the East India Company by Colbert, Bourbon, as I have said, was placed under the jurisdiction of Pondicherry. Edicts of January 1671 and February 1701 relegated to the Indian courts all civil and criminal cases arising within the island, but owing to the infrequent communication between Réunion and Hindostan, on the Governor devolved the triple functions of legislative, administrative, and judicial head of the colony. The representations of this official

had the effect, in the year 1711, of separating Bourbon from Pondicherry in all cases except appeals, and in 1793 the last link which bound the island to the continent was severed and a Court of Appeal was established in St. Denis.

Justice.—The courts now consist of a Court of Appeal at St. Denis, Tribunals of the First Instance, and Courts of Assize for criminal business, at St. Denis and St. Pierre, and nine courts of Juges de Paix. The same rules of procedure and the same codes are in force as obtain in France, modified in a very slight degree to meet the difference of customs which exist between the populations of the mother country and of its colony. The population is much given to litigation, the average number of cases before the courts being close on 8,000, of which about 500 are criminal.

Education.—The congenial task of laicizing all the primary schools in Réunion is being rapidly pushed forward by the Republican Administration of the island. At the present moment (1886) over 11,500 children of both sexes are receiving gratuitous education at the hands of 350 professors, who are drawn from the Department of Public Instruction in France. There are altogether 157 places of primary instruction.

Of the eight establishments which come under the heading of secondary instruction, the Lycée at St. Denis is the most important, I believe, in any French colony. It counts on its books 500 pupils, and is endowed with a number of scholarships which permit the holders to complete their education in France.

In the Colonial Budget the sum of £24,000 is allotted annually to education.

Religion.—Hitherto the State religion of the island has been the Catholic, and even under the Republic close on £7,000 a year is granted for the stipends of the clergy, who are under the domination of a Bishop, the see having been created by Napoleon III. in 1861.

Public Works.—Considerable sums are being expended on public works in Réunion, the most important of these being—

a. The iron landing pier at St. Denis, an exceedingly

handsome structure, which it is estimated will cost half a million sterling.

b. The railway, commenced in 1882, destined to connect the harbour of des Galets with the town of St. Pierre and St. Benoit, its total mileage being seventy-seven, and towards the completion of which £15,000 was voted in the budget of 1885.

c. The harbour at des Galets, which will, when completed, cover forty acres, with an average depth of twenty-five feet. The estimated cost is one and a half millions. This sum has been raised in France, the interest on which has been guaranteed by the State, to an amount not exceeding £80,000 a year.

Cultivation and Commerce.—Réunion is to-day essentially a sugar-producing colony, though in the earlier days of the French occupation its most valuable exports were pepper, coffee, and spices. In the matter of sugar the merchants of Réunion have taken the lead of all their brother colonists, adapting themselves to the spirit of the times in a manner quite foreign to their countrymen. The clumsy machinery dependent on cattle for its motive power has been replaced by steam factories replete with every appliance, and efforts are being made to find new outlets for its trade in our colonies and in New Holland, now that the protective duties of its mother country, and the rapid production of beet-sugar, has practically driven cane-sugar from European markets.

	Sugar.		Coffee.		Cloves.		Cocoa.		Tobacco.	
	Acreage.	Output.	Acreage	Output.	Acreage	Output.	Acreage	Output.	Acreage	Output.
		lbs.		lbs.		lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
1832	...	...	...	2,259,500	...	...	...	...	...	...
1835	...	...	...	2,028,246	...	1,638,000	...	22,000	...	180,400
1875	..	...	...	822,800	...	...	...	...	...	1,064,800
1876	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1877	...	...	...	182,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
1878	...	...	...	1,174,800	...	...	...	...	...	...
1879	...	...	...	1,130,000	...	...	...	...	...	1,018,600
1880	...	...	..	1,199,000	...	61,600	...	112,200	...	1,645,400
1881	...	...	...	1,570,000	...	28,600	...	1,600	...	972,000
1882	124,773	64,460,000	15,365	1,683,400	100	57,000	250	43,000	660	1,246,000

The total value of the sugar crop being estimated at—

Sugar, 64,460,000 lbs.	£328,000
Rum, 550,000 gallons	400,000
Molasses, 704,000 gallons	52,000

whilst the total capital sunk in the sugar industry represents a sum close on five and a half millions sterling, namely—

Lands employed in Sugar Cultivation	£4,000,000
Plant, Machinery, &c.	1,920,000
Cattle	400,000

Owing to the fact that Réunion is principally a sugar-producing colony, it is evident that its trade with France, owing to the policy that country is pursuing with regard to the sugar trade, must necessarily be a declining one; indeed, in the last eight years, the exports from the island to France have sunk fifty per cent.; and though there has not been such a marked fall in the imports from the mother country, there has been a very sensible reduction even in these, as the following table will show:—

	Exports to France.	Imports from France.
1876	£923,147	£343,198
1877	892,300	324,012
1878	874,704	389,168
1879	714,833	296,848
1880	628,080	367,945

The imports and exports of the colony are thus summarized in the annual commercial statistics published by the Custom House officials of France, for the year 1881:—

	Imports.	Exports.
To or from France	£317,916	£701,901
„ French Colonies	55,224	12,602
„ Foreign Countries	759,992	228,435

The principal items being—

Imports from France.	
Salt Meats	£11,650
Salt Fish	15,284
Chemical Manures	13,295
Wines and Spirits	69,180
Cotton Goods	50,861
Leather Goods	29,940

IMPORTS FROM FRENCH COLONIES.

Salt Fish	£9,192
Rice	13,616
Cotton Goods	10,124

IMPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Flour	£55,318
Rice	352,242
Tobacco	50,203

In the case of Réunion we find the commerce principally carried on with countries alien to France and by vessels not sailing under French colours, the movements of vessels in the port being—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
From or to France	41	22,165	44	18,641
„ „ French Colonies	9	2,644	32	13,772
„ „ Foreign Countries	189	154 of these aggregated 58,674 tons.	173	of which 130 carried 53,000tons.

Finances.—The Local Revenue of Réunion does not suffice for one-half of its expenditure; this amounts to over £400,000, irrespective of the sums disbursed by the various Municipal and Communal authorities for local improvements.

The expenses may be here summarized :—

Local Budget	£176,530
*Budget of Minister of Marine	246,845
	423,375

The principal items of Colonial Revenue are :—

Postal Service	£16,777
Licence Tax	12,800
House Tax	4,440
Stamps and Registration	29,268
Carriage Tax	1,360
Spirits and Tobacco Licence	67,052
Weights and Measures	1,080
Export Dues	32,380
Miscellaneous	11,373
	£176,530

* For details *see* Appendix No. I.

Nossi Bé.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris all the colonial possessions wrested from France since the Peace of Amiens were restored to her, with the exception of Tobago, Saint Lucia, Mauritius and its dependencies, the Seychelles. Adopting a somewhat comprehensive view of this clause, France laid claim to the entire island of Madagascar, basing her claim on the facts that some Jesuit missionaries had, for a number of years prior to the Revolution, owned establishments on the island, and that in the year 1644 a certain Monsieur de Flacourt had officially taken possession of it in the name of His Most Christian Majesty Louis XV. Not only did the British Government raise objections to such a course, but the King of the Hovas, who had recently succeeded in compelling all the minor tribes in Madagascar to submit to his rule, not content with remonstrances, proceeded to force, and drove a French detachment out of the small fort at Point Dauphin, and compelled them to restrict their possessions to the small island of Sainte Marie de Madagascar. The necessity, however, of obtaining territory in the vicinity of the Isle of Bourbon, whence they could draw a supply of "free labourers" for the sugar plantations of their last remaining colony in the Indian Ocean, caused the French to turn their eyes to the group of islands to the north-west of Madagascar. Recent events had thrown the greater part of the island into the hands of the Hovas, whose king was *de facto* sovereign of the island. The majority of the petty kinglets had voluntarily submitted to his sway; some had maintained a bold aspect of independence until threatened by the Hovas troops, whilst others had opposed the Hovas by force, and had been deprived of their lands and driven into exile.

Amongst this latter category came one Tsimandroho, whose ancestors during the eighteenth century had been Kings of the Sakalaves; their territories had stretched along the eastern coasts of Madagascar, from Cape Amber in the north, to Saint Augustine's Bay in the south. Dispossessed of his lands, Tsimandroho was driven to take refuge in the island of Nossi Bé, and from thence he contrived to send messengers to Admiral

de Helle, the Governor of Bourbon, begging his assistance towards the recovery of his ancient kingdom.

Any measure which would enable France to act against the Hovas, and punish them for the indignity offered to the French flag at Fort Dauphin in 1825, was sure of receiving support at Versailles, and the admiral promptly despatched a vessel of war to Nossi Bé to enter into a treaty with the fugitive king—a treaty which, though not binding France to any definite course of action, should yet give her rights of sovereignty in Madagascar, and thus enable her, when opportunity might arise, to exercise her prerogatives and establish a permanent military settlement in some favourable spot. By the laws of the Hovas, slavery is allowed, and Admiral de Helle, aware of the labour crisis in Réunion, and foreseeing the time when labourers from Africa would be required to replace the newly-liberated slaves in that island, looked upon a footing in Madagascar as but a step in the direction of establishing labour depôts within the dominions of the Queen of Madagascar.

In September, 1839, Captain Passot, of the corvette *Colibri*, was detached with full power to treat with King Tsimandroho, and in July of the following year a treaty was signed, by which that monarch, a fugitive from the throne of his fathers, ceded to the King of France territories of which he had been dispossessed for upwards of ten years. By it France nominally obtained possession of the ancient territories of the Sakalaves on the main island, as well as of the small islands grouped off the north-west corner of Madagascar.

It may be of interest to give a translation of the document upon which France bases her claim to the sovereignty of the island of Madagascar.

"Declaration of Tsimandroho, to the Great King of France, Algeria, Isle of Bourbon, and of many other places.

"I, Tsimandroho of the Golden Family, formerly King of Vokemar, and on the main land of Madagascar, now ruler of a part of Nossi Bé and of Nossi Faly, having been driven from the main island by our cruel enemies the Hovas, I am not able to defend myself against their attacks. If no one comes to my aid I am utterly lost.

"I have collected together all my councillors, and the principal chiefs of my kingdom, to deliberate on the matter before us. We realize that the King of France is capable of conquering the Hovas, and that he will not deceive us. If he comes to our aid we and our families may still hope to live. Therefore we place ourselves in the hands of the great King of France. I give to him my lands, my villages, and all my subjects. I pray him to come and help us against the Hovas; all my subjects wish to learn to fight as the French fight, and to wage war by their sides. I desire to become the child of the King of France, even that he may be my father and I his son. I will obey all his orders, and the orders of those whom he sends to this country. If he tells me to stand up, I will stand, if to sit down, I will sit; if he tells me to work or to fight, I will do just what he orders.

"We know nothing, we want to learn everything; we trust that the King of France will send us people to teach us to read and to write, and to become even as the French are."

In virtue of this deed of gift, ratified shortly after by a treaty, the French Government landed a small force on the island of Nossi Bé, established a form of government similar to that in their other minor colonies, erected public buildings, nominated the usual posse of public officials, and, in short, carried out the treaty to the letter, in so far as it concerned the cession of territory to themselves; but, to his inexpressible chagrin, no efforts were made to recover for Tsimandroho, the lost possessions on the main land. This breach of faith on the part of the French rankled in the breasts of the Sakalaves, and when, in 1848, in pursuance of a decree of the Senate, slavery was abolished in the French colonies, and they saw their chief source of wealth vanish at a blow, the smouldering embers of resentment burst into a blaze, and in the spring of 1849 the Sakalaves broke into open revolt.

Aided by their kinsmen on the main island and in Nossi Fali, the insurgents, to the number of about 10,000, massed in the north of the island, and poured down on the French settlement. The total effective forces at the disposal of the Governor were sixty men of the infantry of the Marines, and

about eight hundred freed slaves. With these he endeavoured to make a stand. The Governor's house was surrounded with earthworks, guns were mounted, the European residents, including the missionaries, called into the entrenchments, and every preparation made to repulse the coming attack. At the same time the women and children were placed on board some native vessels and despatched to Mayotte, under charge of the missionaries, who were also entrusted with despatches to the military Commandant of that island demanding reinforcements.

For some weeks the little party were exposed to a harassing blockade, and in a reconnaissance undertaken to ascertain the strength of the besieging force, the officer commanding the detachment of the Marine infantry lost his life. Disheartened, but not dismayed, by the untoward incident, the Governor dispatched a further urgent appeal to Mayotte for aid. Provisions were scarce, water often difficult to obtain, and the temper of some of the native contingent not all that could be desired.

The situation of the garrison was growing almost desperate when, on the 1st of July, the Sakalaves delivered their final attack. Under the command of some of the non-commissioned officers of the infantry of the Marine the freed slaves were sent out to meet them; but these were soon driven in upon the entrenchments. Then, preceded by their priests, shouting, singing, and gesticulating, the insurgents welled on, and had arrived within a hundred yards of the earthworks when the ships' guns, which had been mounted in commanding positions, poured a volley of case shot into their midst. It was their first taste of artillery; checked and bewildered, the enemy huddled together, not knowing whether to fly or to make one desperate bid for success. Taking advantage of the pause, a second volley was poured into them, and in another moment the Sakalaves were flying towards the hills, hotly pursued by the semi-disciplined blacks. Quarter they neither asked nor expected. The pursuit was carried on all day, and on the arrival of reinforcements from Mayotte an organized punitive expedition was directed against the fugitives, who had sought safety in the mountainous regions in the north of the island.

Armed only with spears, the Sakalaves could make no stand against their pursuers, whose fury seemed redoubled by the mere fact of their prey being helpless. It is stated that upwards of 3,000 Sakalaves perished ere the French Commander cried " Hold, enough ! "

The lesson taught was a severe one, and since 1849 the French have remained in undisputed possession of the island.

Topography.— The island of Nossi Bé is situated about a hundred and eighty miles to the east of Mayotte, and about ten from the coast of Madagascar. It is evidently of volcanic origin, extinct craters of volcanoes being distinctly visible. Many of these are filled with water, and form considerable lakes. The central portion of the island is extremely fertile, high downland rising in elevation to the southward, until it culminates in the mount Loucoubé, with an altitude of 1,486 feet.

Nossi Bé possesses no navigable river, but the banks of its numerous streams are well cultivated, and many of these have debouchures convenient for the watering of passing vessels. The principal stream runs through the town of Hellville, a name by no means inappropriate when we consider the mean temperature of the island; but I believe that the Admiral under whose orders Nossi Bé was annexed to the French is responsible for its nomenclature.

Population.—In 1883 the population of Nossi Bé amounted to 9,009 souls, 5,435 males and 3,574 females : the proportion of adults is not stated in official returns.

Government and Administration.—The colony is administered by a Commandant, who has under his order a "Chef du Service de l'Interieur," and a chief of the judicial department. The " Conseil d'Administration " of the colony is of course presided over by the Governor, and it consists of the two chief officials above mentioned, and two of the chief (French subjects) inhabitants, named by the Governor.

Justice.—Justice is administered by a magistrate who combines the offices of Juge de Paix with that of President of the Tribunal of the First Instance. All appeals are transferred to the Superior Court in Réunion. As Juge de Paix,

this official was called on to decide 27 cases, and as President of the Tribunal 77 cases, in the year 1881.

Education.—As yet the laicization of the schools has not been effected in Nossi Bé: the boys' schools, at which there is an average attendance of 140, are under the charge of the Fathers of the order of St. Esprit, and the girls' schools, at which the average is 105, are cared for by the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny.

Cultivation and Commerce.—The total area of the island is about 73,250 acres: of which some 20,000 only are at present cultivated, and these are nearly all devoted to sugar plantations; but efforts have recently been made to introduce coffee into the island.

The total exports in 1882 amounted to £150,480, and imports to £148,800; in the same year, 29,864 tons of shipping cleared out of Port Hellville. The commerce was evenly divided between France and other countries, £67,014 imports arriving from the mother country, against £81,821 from other countries; she, on the other hand, taking £89,436 of exports, whilst foreign countries absorbed £61,070.

The local receipts amounted to—

	£	s.	d.
Land Tax	380	0	0
Poll Tax	1,120	0	0
Licence Tax	1,360	0	0
Export Duty on Sugar	600	0	0
Licence for Sale and Transport of Spirits	800	0	0
Post Dues	960	0	0
	5,220	0	0

The sums allocated by the Minister of Marine for the administration of the colony are set forth in Appendix No. I.

Sainte Marie de Madagascar.

Between the years 1642 and 1675 various trading companies, under the high patronage of Richelieu and of Colbert, made repeated efforts to found French colonies on the island of

Madagascar. Doubtless at this period, the island of Nossi Bourahi, or, as it is now called, Ste. Marie de Madagascar, was visited, if not occupied, by the French; but we have no authentic record of its being considered a dependency of France until the year 1750, when, in return for a pecuniary subsidy, Beti, son of King Ratzimilao, chief of the Betsimarake tribe, ceded his interest in the island to the East India Company of France. This corporation saw in Nossi Bourahi a midway port between the Cape of Good Hope and their establishments in the East Indies, but no efforts were made to do more than make it a mere port of call.

During the wars of the Revolution, French prestige was at a very low ebb in the Indian seas; she had been harried from her ancient possessions; and though by the Treaty of Paris of 1815 these were to a certain extent restored to her, it yet needed vigorous action on the part of the Government to regain a footing in those waters where the English flag reigned supreme. Availing itself of the ambiguous wording of that treaty, the French Government despatched M. Sylvain de Raux, with instructions to take possession of the island of Sainte Marie de Madagascar and of the ports of Tamatave, Fort Dauphin, and Tintinque, on the main island. Such conduct was little to the liking of the Hovas, who, at the end of the eighteenth century, had established themselves as the dominant race in Madagascar, and whose king was virtually considered by all minor chiefs as sovereign of the island, and he was by no means inclined to brook the appearance of a foreign flag on his shores. For close on thirteen years hostilities were waged between the Hovas and the French. One by one the establishments of the latter power were abandoned, until, in 1831, the white flag of France was seen no more on the main island. Ranavolana pursued the same relentlessly hostile policy as Radama, her father; but she was unable to undertake an expedition to chase the French from the Isle of Sainte Marie, which since 1831 has been their sole possession on the eastern shore of Madagascar.

Topography.—Ste. Marie is a long, narrow island, about 30 miles in length by 2 in breadth, separated from its larger sister by a channel whose mean width is but a few miles. It is

sheltered from the north by Cape Antougil, and from all westerly gales by the main island, so that when anchored in the harbour of Marorano, on its western shores, vessels are secure from any gale. The country is fertile and undulating, possessing excellent pasturage, and the whole island is traversed by innumerable streams. There is but little cultivation, the inhabitants growing what is necessary for their own needs, and making a precarious livelihood, either by fishing or selling cattle to the traders from Mauritius and Réunion.

Population.—The population at the last census amounted to 7,189 souls, of whom 3,491 were males, 3,698 females; of these 2,489 were adults over fourteen years of age. The original inhabitants were evidently of Caffre origin; like their neighbours, the Betsimarakes, they have black skins, thick lips, and crisp, curly hair: many still retain these characteristics, though from intermarriage with Sakalave settlers, who are thronging to the island, the race is gradually diminishing. The unhealthiness of Ste. Marie de Madagascar proves an insuperable bar to European colonization. In 1883 there were but fourteen Europeans on the island, and of these ten were officials.

Government and Administration.—For purposes of administration Ste. Marie is attached to Réunion, an officer being deputed by the Governor of that island to carry on all duties connected with the tiny dependency. This official is Governor, Magistrate, and Commandant, all rolled into one; but his duties are light, as all criminal cases are referred to the superior courts in St. Denis.

Education.—The Jesuits, who for so many years carried on their work of evangelization in the island, have left traces of their energy in two schools, which still exist and give gratuitous instruction to 968 children of both sexes.

Cultivation and Commerce.—The island may be said to be almost uncultivated. The natives, it is true, grow a small quantity of cloves and coffee, but, being naturally extremely indolent and averse to manual labour, they trust to traders from Réunion and Mauritius to supply them even with the rice necessary for their own consumption, although, from the swampy nature of certain districts, the country is peculiarly

well suited for the cultivation of this staple article of diet. Efforts have been made by the French officials to establish some plantations of cocoanut trees; but although 55,000 of these have been planted, and in 1882 were in full bearing, no colonist has been found hardy enough to offer himself as a tenant to the provincial government.

Without cultivation, Ste. Marie naturally remains without commerce; some small craft trade between it and Réunion and the Mauritius, and the despatch boat attached to the former island, as well as casual trading steamers, occasionally visit its ports. In 1882 the total imports were £7,264, and exports £4,400; rice being the principal article in the former category, cattle in the latter.

Finances.—As may readily be conceived, the labours of the Governor in this direction are not of an arduous character: the expenditure, infinitesimal as it is, resembles the system in vogue in all other French colonies, it is not provided for by the revenue of the island, and the Minister of Marine and Colonies has to furnish an annual sum to enable a balance to be struck. The salaries of all the officials are included in the Réunion Budget, yet the following extract from official papers will suffice to show the condition of the island:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Land Tax	78	2	6
Poll Tax	129	12	6
Licence Tax	150	0	10
Duty and Transport on Spirits . .	283	16	2
Subvention from the State . . .	2,482	0	0
	3,123	12	0

The whole of this sum, with the exception of £329 12s. 6d. devoted to educational purposes, is spent on improvements in roads, repairs to public buildings, and efforts to develop the cocoanut plantations, which languish for want of a tenant. The expenses of the Naval squadron, borne proportionately by Ste. Marie, but paid by the State, is £12,391.

In view of the probable annexation of Madagascar by France, Ste. Marie has an important future, as it covers the most valu-

able harbour on the eastern shores of the mainland, and offers a secure resting-place for a squadron unable to gain the friendly shelter of Réunion.

Mayotte.

The most westerly of the group of islands in Malagau waters now owned by the French is Mayotte. The history of the island in its relations to its present possessors is very similar to that already narrated regarding Nossi Bé and Ste. Marie.

In 1841, after obtaining from King Tsimandroho the cession of the islands close under the coast of Madagascar, M. Passot proceeded to the westward and formally annexed Mayotte. The inhabitants were by no means cordial in the welcome they accorded their new owners, and it was not until June 1843 that all symptoms of hostility were stamped out. In the following year, after careful plans had been made of all their newly-acquired possessions, the French determined to convert the little island of Dzaoudzi, close under the eastern shores of Mayotte, into a second Gibraltar. Large numbers of skilled workmen were transported thither from Europe, free labourers were also brought over from neighbouring islands, and vast sums spent in commencing the foundations of a series of forts which were to dominate the harbour of Choa. After an enormous sum, stated to have been £320,000, had been expended on this idea, the project was abandoned. The island of Dzaoudzi, however, was selected as the site for a permanent military garrison. A hospital and the usual Government offices were constructed; on these a further sum of six million francs have been spent.

Topography.—The island of Mayotte lies fairly north and south, its extreme length being twenty-five and its breadth about eight miles. Its coast is deeply indented by large land-locked bays, which at all times afford secure shelter for vessels. The principal harbour is that of Choa, which is protected from the north by the barren island of Pamanzi, and from the east by that of Dzaoudzi. These two islands are connected by a narrow tongue of land, which is completely covered at high

water. To the north of Mayotte, the bay of Longoni, and on its western coast that of Boeni, also furnish excellent harbourage for vessels of considerable tonnage.

A considerable range of hills, rising to a height of 3,000 feet, runs down the centre of the island ; the western slopes of these are well wooded and very fertile, whilst the eastern are more precipitous and destitute of cultivation, the ground on that side being much cut up by numerous ravines, which during the rainy season are roaring torrents, but in the winter are dry and barren. The great want of water is severely felt in all the towns on the south-eastern coasts ; to obviate this scarcity art has been called in to supplement nature, and tanks similar to those constructed at Aden, but on a far smaller scale, have been constructed near Choa.

On the French occupation in 1843 there was but one town of any note, and this, the inhabitants having been given to commerce with the neighbouring islands, was situated on the shores of the excellent harbour of Choa. Small groups of Arab villages were scattered about in various places, but they rarely consisted of more than ten or fifteen huts, and scarcely deserved even the designation of village. Now comparative prosperity reigns, and besides Choa and the French settlement on Dzaoudzi, there are two or three towns of considerable size, notably Koeni, Jongoni, Dopani, and others.

Population.—The population of Mayotte in 1882 comprised 8,794 souls; the surplus of males is here more distinctly visible than in the other islands whose history I have sketched, the numbers being: males, 5,561 ; females, 3,233 ; of these 876 boys, and 852 girls are under 18 years. By far the greater majority of the inhabitants are Mussulmans, some being descendants from the old Arab traders who settled in Mayotte in the fourteenth century, others being tribesmen of the main land converted to Mahomedanism.

Government and Administration.—The Governor of the island is assisted in his duties by the chief of the "Service Intérieur," and of the service "Judiciare." There being no Conseil Général, when questions relating to the colony come up for discussion, a Council is formed of the three Government

officials and two of the principal inhabitants named by the Governor. Should the question be one of finance, two additional members elected by the colony have a seat at the Board.

Justice.—The judicial requirements of the Island are met by the appointment of an official who, under the style and title of "Juge Président," unites the offices of Juge de Paix and Juge of the Tribunal of the First Instance. All appeals, as well as all criminal cases, are referred to the Superior Courts at Réunion. The labours of the Judge, who is assisted by a Greffier, are light, as the following extract from official returns of 1885 show :—

TRIBUNAL OF THE FIRST INSTANCE.

Civil Causes	29
Commercial Cases	29
Minor Criminal Offences	57

OFFICE OF JUGE DE PAIX.

Civil Cases	10
Simple Police Cases	87

The annual returns for the year 1885 give the following results as regards the commerce in the island of Mayotte :—

	Imports.	Exports.
From or to France . . .	£19,108	£86,181
other Countries . .	23,691	5,994

The shipping movements being—

	Entered.	Cleared.
French Vessels	33	42
Other Flags	83	77

Education.—The inhabitants of the island being Mahomedans, there is a strong objection on the part of parents to send their children to the Catholic schools, and the small progress which the missionaries were making in Mayotte has been rudely checked by the conduct of the Republican Ministry in withholding State aid from the religious schools ; this, too,

has engendered suspicions on the part of the Arabs as to the genuineness of the Jesuit creed.

Native children, therefore, are instructed by Moollahs of their own persuasion, whilst the two small missionary schools are attended only by 21 boys and 18 girls.

Cultivation and Commerce.—The want of water on the eastern ridges of the island interferes much with the successful cultivation of the soil. At the present moment there are about 7,200 acres under tillage, 4,000 of them being devoted to sugar, of which, in 1882, 7,726,000 lbs. were exported. Efforts are also being made to produce coffee and tobacco. In the same year, the exports of coffee amounted to 11,660 lbs., and of tobacco to 3,720 lbs.—a small beginning, it is true, but still enough to show that, with care and proper appliances, the future of the little colony may be one of prosperity.

Although vast sums have been spent on the harbour, which was originally intended as a refuge for ships of war, the trade of the island, owing to its position as well as to its size, must necessarily be insignificant. Thus, in 1882, but 122 vessels, of a gross tonnage of 11,250 visited the island, and of this amount 6,500 tons were under the French flag.

Finances.—The Local Budget comprises all expenditure relative to the internal administration of the colony, but naturally this is far more than is met by the revenue, which has to be largely supplemented by State aid.

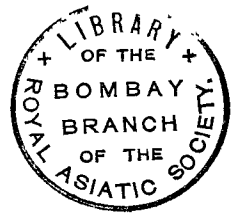
The Minister of the Colonies furnishes over £20,000 a year to the support of this little island. For the details of this sum, the reader is referred to Appendix No. I.

The Local Budget gives the following sums:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
By Land Tax	2 400	0	0
„ Poll Tax	1,200	0	0
„ Licence Tax	920	0	0
„ Sale and Transport of Spirits . .	880	0	0
„ Customs and Export Dues. . .	4,240	0	0
	9,640	0	0

The expenditure amounts, then, to close on £30,000 a year,

irrespective of the pay of the troops, which it is impossible accurately to determine. If to this sum we add the interest on 14,000,000 francs, wasted on defensive works, it is easy to arrive at the conclusion that Mayotte in the past has been, as well as is in the present, an expensive possession for our neighbours.


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CHAPTER IV.

EAST INDIAN POSSESSIONS.

East Indian Possessions: Pondicherry, Mahé, Chandernagore, Kankal, and Yanaon—Early History of the French in India — Trading Companies under Royal Support—Richelieu and Colbert's Efforts — Beaulieu and Carron — François Martin's gallant Defence of St. Thomé—Founding of Pondicherry—War with the English—Repeated Capture of the French Possessions—Population—Government and Administration — Justice — Education — Agriculture — Commerce—Industry—Finances.

THE permanent connection between France and India may be said to date back to the year 1604, when Richelieu with a flourish of trumpets founded "La Campagnie Royale des Indes Orientales," though upwards of a century previously efforts had been made by the merchant venturers—to adopt a happy Bristolian phrase—of Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre, to open up communications with the Indian markets. The earliest of these attempts of which we have any authentic record took place in the year 1503, when two small vessels cleared out of Havre, bound to the ports of Hindostan. Little craft measuring respectively 120 and 96 tons, crowded with idlers as well as seamen, lumbered up with goods destined for Oriental bazaars, the result might well have been foretold—they were never heard of again. Three decades were allowed to elapse before another squadron was fitted out, when in 1538 a second, and in 1545 a third, expedition started on similar bootless errands. It was reserved for Richelieu to lay the foundation of that Eastern Empire which, after bitter struggles and varying fortunes, now constitutes the most valuable of all British possessions.

It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into the details of those long and interesting wars waged between France and

England in the plains of Lower Hindostan, but a brief summary of the history of the French in India is necessary in order to show how their acquisitions, which at one time threatened to swallow up our own, and did actually far surpass them in extent, have now dwindled away to a few insignificant towns, all of which on more than one occasion have fallen into our hands, to be as often, by a misplaced generosity, ceded to our hereditary foes.

Jealous of the successes of the Dutch in the East, and foreseeing the immense advantages that must accrue to France from an extension of her colonial markets, Richelieu determined to follow the example set by the Norman merchants of the preceding century, and to fight the Dutch on their own ground. On the 1st of June, 1604, he accordingly granted a charter under Royal Patent to "La Campagnie Royale des Indes Orientales," bestowing on it for fifteen years an exclusive trade with the East. Further than this, the company was aided with subsidies from the Royal Treasuries, and vessels from the Royal dockyards; but even this assistance was not sufficient to induce private individuals to embark in the venture, or to allay the jealousies and stifle the quarrels which at once arose amongst the original proprietors. The company died stillborn; but in the year 1611 a fresh, but unsuccessful, effort was made to awaken public interest in the defunct undertaking. In 1615, some merchants of Rouen petitioned the King for the transfer of the charter, and in July, 1615, an amicable arrangement was arrived at between the proprietors of "La Campagnie Royales des Indes Orientales" and the Rouennois. This was followed up by decisive action, for in the following year an expedition, under the joint command of de Nets and Antoine Beaulieu, left the Seine for Eastern waters. Of this voyage, Tavernier has left us an interesting account; and though the venture does not appear to have been actually a successful one, so far as its financial results are concerned, it opened up such vistas of untold wealth to the merchants of Rouen, that, despite the organized opposition of the Dutch, both at home and abroad, it was determined to carry on the operations of the company on a still more extensive scale.

In 1619, Beaulieu was nominated to the command of a squadron, consisting of the *Montmorenci*, 450 tons, 22 guns, *l'Esperance*, 400 tons, 17 guns, and *l'Hermitage*, 75 tons, 8 guns, carrying crews amounting to 320 men. Although the *l'Esperance* was lost in an engagement off Achèen, and Beaulieu had to encounter not only the perils of the difficult navigation of the Malacca Straits and the cyclones of the Indian Ocean, but also the armed hostility of the Dutch, and the jealous suspicion of the natives, he succeeded in reaching Havre in December 1620, with a cargo valued at £160,000. Encouraged by this success, fresh efforts were made towards opening up trade with the East, and in 1642 the rights of the original company having lapsed, Richelieu granted a fresh charter to a powerful corporation. This charter included amongst its provisions a grant of possession over the island of Madagascar, which it was anticipated would prove a more valuable half-way house to India, in the hands of the French, than the Cape of Good Hope was in those of the Dutch. The dealings of the company with Madagascar are fully dealt with in a subsequent chapter, so I may continue my brief narration of the rise and fall of French power in Hindostan.

Richelieu died in 1643, before his newly-formed company had achieved any greater success in Madagascar than the foundation of a petty fortlet on the east coast of the island, long since fallen to ruins, and of an enmity which has lasted until to-day. His successor, Mazarin, was too much busied with home politics, and with making head against the wars which, for a time, threatened to overwhelm France, to be able to afford any support to distant enterprises; but on his death, in 1661, Colbert put forth all his energy and all his ability to place France in the proud position of the leading nation of Europe. Recognizing the value of outlets for her commerce, and the necessity of a thorough reorganization of her navy in order to protect her mercantile marine, Colbert spent vast sums in constructing harbours at Cherbourg, Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon, and in building a navy which should put France on an equality with Great Britain, Holland, and Spain. He then turned his attention to the continents of Asia and America, and in the year 1664

granted charters to various trading companies in all parts of the globe, foremost amongst these being the "Campagnie des Indes Orientales," a fresh corporation founded on the lines of Richelieu's defunct enterprise. This was registered on the 1st of September of that year, receiving a subsidy from the Royal Treasury of three million livres tournois. Support from such a quarter naturally attracted universal attention towards the new company, and the subscription lists were soon filled with the names of the leading merchants of Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Nantes, Tours, Saint Malo, Grenoble, and Dijon. Guaranteed as it was by royal patent against all the losses it might suffer during the first ten years of its operations, and exempt from all import dues on its merchandise for fifty years, there was but one reason why the company might not have enjoyed a prosperous career, and have finally absorbed into the kingdom of France the whole empire of Hindostan, and that reason is the simple inability of the French to master the rudiments of Oriental government.

Brilliant as were the early prospects of the new company, its early measures were marred by injudiciousness, and clouded with misfortune. The directors were hampered with the idea of making firm their foothold in Madagascar as a midway resting-place before embarking on any serious undertakings in Hindostan; and it is odd to find, after the lapse of two centuries, that the French then, as now, believed in the possibility of colonizing with French settlers tropical lands. In March, 1665, four large vessels sailed from Brest and Havre, carrying, in addition to their crews, 475 emigrants, who were destined to reinforce the garrison which still held Fort Dauphin, and to instruct the islanders in the art of cultivation and commerce as understood by the France of the seventeenth century. Having thus, as they hoped, made good their hold on Madagascar, the company in the following year fitted out an expedition for India itself. Its command was entrusted to one Carron, a Frenchman who had gained some experience and held responsible appointments in the Dutch East India Company of Batavia. Reaching Madagascar in 1667, Carron found the French settlements torn by intestine quarrels and threatened

with annihilation at the hands of the natives; his commission gave him no authority in that island, nor was his experience likely to be of any service there, so he wisely determined to allow the Franco-Madagascar question to settle itself (little foreseeing that it would be in as acute a phase two centuries later), and proceeded forthwith to Surat, where some Jesuits—those true political missionaries—had already paved the way for French mercantile successes. Thus, in 1668, the first French factory was established in India. In the following year, owing to the unremitting exertions of a Persian who was associated with Carron in the chief command of the new company, a second factory was established at Masulipatam, and shortly afterwards a more permanent settlement was effected at St. Thomé. An unsuccessful expedition against Trincomalee, in Ceylon, led to the downfall of Carron, and his Persian coadjutor also being in disgrace, the direction of the company was entrusted to one François Martin, a Frenchman who in years gone by had been a colleague of Carron in the Dutch service. Martin took up the reins of power with energy and determination. He foresaw that the foolhardy attempt on Trincomalee would bring down on the French settlers the full force of the enmity of his old powerful masters, the Dutch, and he dreaded the results of a threatened attack which must end in defeat, and, in all probability, be but the forerunner of the expulsion of the French from India. He could expect no material aid from the French Admiral on the station, an officer who already on more than one occasion had shrunk from an encounter with the Dutch fleet, and he felt that if a hold was to be maintained on the Indian coast, it must be by diplomatic means, not by force of arms. Proceeding to the Court of Tanjore, Martin succeeded in obtaining the grant of a small tract of territory to the north of the river Kalarūn, but the transaction was shrouded in such secrecy that, with the exception of two of the directors at St. Thomé, not a soul was aware of the object of his mission. The threatened storm soon burst. In 1674 the Dutch, co-operating with the King of Golconda, appeared before St. Thomé and demanded its surrender. Martin returned a defiant answer, and for eight weary months his

gallant garrison, numbering barely 600 men, maintained an equally defiant attitude in the face of overwhelming numbers. At last, when the fire of the Dutch fleets had destroyed his sea defences, and when the trenches of his native foes had so closed him in that starvation stared his men in the face, Martin, whose gallant stand earned for his troops most favourable conditions of surrender, handed over his ruined battlements to the victorious Dutch. The terms he received were favourable indeed, and had the victors been aware of his mission to the Court of Tanjore, we may well believe they would have been far more severe. Martin's troops were allowed to march out of St. Thomé with all the honours of war, and to proceed in any direction they thought fit. Little did the Dutch commander anticipate the result of such generous terms, and he fondly imagined that, possessing but the two trading factories of Surat and Masulipatam, the French troops would now be compelled to re-embark for France. He had reckoned without his host, and doubtless Martin chuckled in his sleeve as he led his defeated, but by no means disheartened, forces to the little grant of land to the north of the Kalarūn, where, thanks to the treasure which had been saved at the surrender of St. Thomé, and to the energy infused into the little band by Martin, factories were built, and ere the close of the year 1675 the town of Pondicherry formed the centre of French commerce in Hindostan. But Martin was not destined to retain undisputed possession of his new kingdom; in 1675 he bought off the threatened hostility of Sevajee, only to find himself exposed to the cupidity of the Dutch, who from time to time endeavoured to rouse the native rulers to take action against the French. At last, in 1693, the Dutch plucked up courage themselves, and appearing before Pondicherry with nineteen sail-of-the-line, and a numerous convoy of transports conveying upwards of 9,000 troops, they summoned Martin to surrender. To oppose this formidable force, the French commander had under 50 European troops, 6 guns, and some 300 half-drilled Sepoys. Yet even with this force he made a show of resistance, and bravely stood a siege for over a fortnight, when, aware of the futility of expecting assistance from France, he,

on the 8th September, once more concluded honourable terms of surrender with his ancient foes. After their experience at the capture of Thomé, it was not to be expected that the French garrison would be permitted to remain in India, and one of the articles in the terms of capitulation expressly stipulated that they should be forwarded to Europe by an early opportunity. Thus it seemed as if all hope of a French settlement in India must be abandoned, and the field be left clear to the victorious Dutch.

There still remained the factories at Surat and Masulipatam, as well as at Chandernagore, which in the year 1688 had been ceded to a small party of French settlers by the Emperor Aurungzebe. More than this, there still remained to France the indomitable energy and boundless resources of the brave François Martin. Transported to France by the terms of the capitulation of Pondicherry, Martin succeeded in gaining the ears of the Ministry, and, what was still better, succeeded in impressing upon the most influential men in France the immense advantages that must necessarily result in the adoption of a bolder policy towards India. France, however, was in no position to enter on schemes of distant conquest; she was then fighting face to face with united Europe, and the fleets of Holland, which had worsted her in Hindostan, were even now blockading her coasts. Whilst fully realizing the worth of Martin's schemes, the King saw the impossibility of furthering them until peace should be restored; but when, by the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, a mutual restitution of all conquests made by the belligerents was decided on, Martin was once more nominated to the command of Pondicherry, and shortly after was made Director-General of the French settlements in the East Indies by Royal Letters Patent, signed by Louis XIV. in 1701. His first act was to strengthen the fortifications of the seat of his Government, and to render it in every way worthy of the renown he intended it should gain—his next, to push forward his commercial operations until he succeeded in becoming a very formidable antagonist, not merely to the Dutch, but also to the English.

It has been reserved for Colonel G. B. Malleson, in his two

excellent works on the subject,* to show how narrowly the French escaped becoming masters of the continent of Hindostan, and how our successes were due not to our superior valour, not to the superior skill of our Generals, but to the policy of the French Ministers who starved their troops into defeat, who wilfully ignored the demands for aid made by their distant commanders, and who, finally, in order to gain some trifling concessions in Europe, signed away territories which had been actually won for them by the skill and bravery of their lieutenants. To reproduce even a summary of the French operations in India would occupy too much of my space, and I will, therefore, confine myself to those dealing with their existing possessions of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahé, Karikal, and Yunaon.

Pondicherry, we have seen, was purchased by François Martin in 1674 from the Sultan of Bejapore, and Chandernagore obtained in the like manner from Aurungzebe. The little town of Maitri was captured in the year 1727 by a French squadron acting under the orders of Admiral de Pardaillan; but as a compliment to the gallantry of Captain Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais, a name inseparably connected with the French history of India, and to whose initiative the successful capture was due, the name of the settlement was changed to Mahé.

Eleven years later Dupleix received the cession of Karikal in return for the aid afforded to a claimant to the kingdom of Tanjore; and Yunaon was occupied by the same astute statesman in 1740, in order to divert the commerce of the Godavery into French channels. The joint efforts of Dupleix and La Bourdonnais now seemed likely to carry all before them, and for many years it seemed as if France would be the dominant power in India. Favoured with an excellent base of operations in the harbours of Madagascar, the Isle of France and of Bourbon, La Bourdonnais was enabled to mass a considerable fleet unknown to the English, and in revenge for the support which we were then affording Maria Theresa of Austria, he

* "Final Struggles of the French in India." Allen & Co. "History of the French in India." Longmans & Co.

suddenly appeared before Madras and compelled Fort St. George to capitulate. Under the terms of the surrender, a moderate ransom had been agreed on; but Dupleix then Governor of Pondicherry, jealous of the successes of his naval colleague, and already revolving in his own mind those gigantic schemes which were eventually so nearly carried into effect, refused to ratify the capitulation, asserting that he alone, as Governor of the French East Indies, had power of treating with the English.

Jealousy, not revenge, actuated Dupleix; he demanded a ransom of £400,000, and in default of payment threatend to raze the town to the ground, and although La Bourdonnais had released the Governor and other officials on parole, Dupleix insisted on marching them through Madras as prisoners of war, and transferring them to Pondicherry. Amongst the English captured on this occasion was Clive, but he, considering himself absolved from his parole by the conduct of Dupleix, succeeded in escaping to Fort St. David (another British possession), disguised as a native. The English recovering from their first reverses, now advanced against Dupleix, compelled him to return to Pondicherry, and then subjected him to a close siege for over six weeks. News of the conclusion of the Peace of Aix la Chapelle put an end to hostilities on this occasion. In the peace which ensued, Yunaon was purchased by Dupleix.

The outbreak of the "Seven Years War," once more caused a renewal of military operations in India, where Lally-Tollendal was now in command, Dupleix having been recalled to Europe. The balance of success in Asia, as in Europe, was in favour of the English, though as usual the campaign opened most disastrously for them. Lally captured Fort Saint David and Devicottali, taking prisoners some 800 British and more than twice that number of native troops. Flushed with this success, Lally determined to rival La Bourdonnais' action of the previous campaign, and to seize Madras. Waiting until the ensuing cold weather, he marched against the place with 2,700 European and 4,000 Native troops, and succeeded in inflicting

a sense of crushing defeat on the garrison, capturing many guns, a large number of prisoners, and finally subjecting the British to a close siege, lasting upwards of six weeks, a siege only raised by the appearance of a large British fleet in the roads. During the bombardment, our losses amounted to 15 officers and 200 men killed, and about 600 wounded, and of the artillery, with which the place was armed, only 26 pieces were left serviceable, 35 having been dismounted, and 26 more disabled. That the garrison behaved with valour may be judged from the expressions of dissatisfaction to which Lally gave vent in a letter to France. He said that a practicable breach had been made in the walls twenty-nine days after the siege commenced, that for eighteen days his men had been looking at it, yet dared not attempt to storm it, and that for his part he would sooner command Caffres in Madagascar than the French cowards who composed the Army of Pondicherry. Raising the siege, Lally retired to Pondicherry, and this partial success of our arms, gave an impetus to other Commanders operating against the French in other parts of India. Surat was captured by the English in March 1759, and Masulipatam in April.

The energy of our cruisers prevented Lally from obtaining any help from France, he therefore entered into an alliance with Haidar Ali of Mysore, and succeeded in obtaining the assistance of a considerable body of native troops. The British Commander, Sir Eyre Coote, was, however, on the whole very successful, though his successes were at times marred by checks to which the immeasurably superior forces of the French naturally exposed him. Coote gradually pushed Lally back on Pondicherry, and finally, in January 1761, that place surrendered to the English. Chandernagore, Mahé, and Karikal had previously fallen into our hands, so that with the capture of Pondicherry, the French empire in India, had ceased to exist.

Unfortunately, by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, although the French possessions were much curtailed, we retroceded to them all the settlements France now possesses, thus laying the

foundation for other campaigns, whenever the inevitable Anglo-French war should again break out. We had not long to wait. In 1778 France proffered assistance to our revolted Colonies in America, and in the same year hostilities re-opened in India. France was ill-prepared for the struggle. Chandernagore fell on the 10th January, 1778, and in August, General Munro commenced preparations for the siege of Pondicherry. He was ably assisted in his operations by the fleet under Sir Edward Vernon, which by blockading the port prevented assistance reaching it from the sea. Early in September 1778, General Munro opened the bombardment, from batteries which gave cover to fifty-six pieces of artillery. On the 17th October, the day after a practicable breach had been made in the walls, and after having sustained a loss of 224 killed and 693 wounded, the brave Governor, M. de Belle Combe, surrendered, and thus, once more, the French settlements in India fell into our hands, not one remaining to the Crown of France.

But a day of retribution was at hand; our faithlessness in the matter of Treaties had earned for us the undying hatred of Haidar Ali, and when our forces marched through his territory to attack the French settlement of Mahé the ruler of Mysore informed us he would consider such a violation of neutral ground as equivalent to a declaration of war. We disregarded his threats, and Haidar Ali, throwing himself into the arms of the French prepared for the struggle. We were all unprepared for the formidable army the Mysore ruler could bring against us, and our officers were slow to realise the danger arising from the fresh coalition. On the 10th September Haidar Ali outmanœuvred and captured a force of close on 4,000 men, of whom 500 were Europeans, under Colonel Baillie at Perambúkam. The action was one in which the British troops engaged showed the utmost heroism. Haidar's whole army, numbering 28,000 disciplined cavalry, an equal number of infantry, and fifty guns, surrounded our little force, which fought on despite the fearful odds, until out of the eighty officers originally engaged thirty-six were killed and

thirty-four wounded, whilst every piece of artillery was dismounted and useless. Sir Hector Monro now awoke to the danger which faced him, and he slowly fell back to Madras to concentrate his forces, leaving the country in his rear open to the enemy. Arcot was captured on the 31st October, and Haidar Ali even threatened Madras itself. Warren Hastings grasped the real extent of the danger, and grappling with it at once, despatched Sir Eyre Coote to Madras, to assume command. Until the Peace of Versailles in 1783 put an end to hostilities we were exposed to a series of defeats, and though neither Pondicherry nor Chandernagore fell into French hands, we were worsted on so many points, and our Generals showed such timidity and irresolution, that there is good reason for believing had the war been prolonged beyond the year 1783 the French would, in all probability, have regained all the possessions which the Treaty of Paris of 1763 had caused to be handed over to us. On this point Professor H. H. Wilson writes: "It seems probable, that but for the opportune occurrence of peace with France, the South of India would have been lost to the English." Malleson, on the same subject says: "Though England had but one army in Southern India, and that army was exposed to destruction, Louis XVI. renounced every advantage, and allowed French India to accept after a victorious campaign, conditions almost identical with those which had been forced upon her, after the capture of her capital in 1761."

The Treaty of Versailles was signed in June 1783, and for ten years the French Settlements in India enjoyed the blessings of peace. But in 1789 the throes of the Revolution disturbed the rest of the civilized world, and all Europe watched the outcome of the struggle between Republican France and her Royal rulers. In 1792 England threw in her lot with the sovereigns of Europe, against the bloodthirsty tyrants of the Convention. In June 1793 news of the declaration of war between France and England reached Calcutta, and steps were at once taken to seize all the possessions of France in Hindostan. The minor dependencies surrendered at the first

summons, but Pondicherry returned a defiant answer, and on the 20th August Colonel Braithwaite, who had been entrusted with the conduct of operations, commenced to throw up batteries on the shore side, whilst Admiral Cornwallis, with a small squadron, effectually blockaded it from the sea. After suffering a sharp bombardment for three days, and seeing the impossibility of obtaining relief either by sea or by land, the Governor, Monsieur Prosper de Clermont, exercised a wise discretion by surrendering unconditionally.

The British occupation of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and the minor settlements, now lasted for nine years; it was put an end to by the Peace of Amiens, under the terms of which they were all restored to France. They did not long remain in possession of Bonaparte's representatives, for war having been again declared in 1803, the Governor-General of India at once took steps for regaining what had been so foolishly restored, and at the opening of the cold season, forces being despatched against them, the French dependencies for the fourth time capitulated to the British, Pondicherry alone making a show of resistance; but it, too, hauled down its flag on the 11th September, 1803.

By the Treaty of Paris of 1815, they were once more handed over to French officials, in whose possession they have remained ever since.

The present area of French possessions in the East Indies comprises but 194 square miles. It includes Pondicherry and Karikal, on the Coromandel coast; Yunaon, on the coast of Orissa; and Mahé, in Malabar; whilst Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, and small factories in Dacca, Balasore, Patna, Cossimbazar, and Surat make up the total of what remains to France from the vast territories which prior to 1761 promised to expand into an Oriental kingdom.

Population.—The proportion of Frenchmen residing in the East Indian possessions of France is very small indeed. In all but Pondicherry the non-official element may be counted on the fingers. The following tables, perhaps, show more clearly than any other method the present state of the colonies:—

	Children under 14.		Men.	Women.	Total.	
	Boys.	Girls.				
EUROPEANS—						
Pondicherry . .	311	290	336	228	1,165	
Chandernagore .	61	32	75	63	231	
Karikal . . .	15	39	93	70	217	
Mahé	1	5	7	5	18	
Yanaon . . .	...	2	5	13	20	
	388	368	516	379	1,651	1,651
HALF-CASTES—						
Pondicherry . .	369	604	139	187	1,299	
Chandernagore .	24	15	25	9	73	
Karikal . . .	...	...	...	...	...	
Mahé	30	26	28	31	115	
Yanaon . . .	4	19	8	17	48	
	427	664	200	244	1,535	1,535
NATIVES—						
Pondicherry . .	45,796	40,120	37,018	30,687	153,621	
Chandernagore .	5,305	3,016	9,404	4,467	22,192	
Karikal . . .	10,805	10,838	34,838	35,818	92,299	
Mahé	1,601	1,473	2,504	2,731	8,309	
Yanaon . . .	1,103	852	1,432	2,019	5,406	
	64,610	56,299	85,196	75,722	281,827	281,827
				Total . .		285,013

	Europeans.	Half-castes.	Natives.	
Pondicherry . . .	1,174	1,299	153,621	
Chandernagore . .	231	73	22,192	
Karikal	217	...	92,299	
Mahé	18	115	8,309	
Yanaon	20	48	5,406	
	1,660	1,535	281,827	285,022

Government and Administration.—The establishments in

Hindostan are represented in France by a Senator and two Deputies; whilst on the spot their administration is confided to a Governor, who is aided in his executive functions by the usual officials, and in his administrative duties by the same institutions which exist in the other colonies, viz., a "Conseil privé," a "Conseil général," and a "Conseil contentieux;" in each establishment local interests are watched over by municipal institutions.

The "Conseil privé" consists of the Governor as President, of the heads of the various Departments of the State, and of two of the principal non-official inhabitants, one being named by the President of the Republic, one by the Governor himself.

The "Conseil général" is composed of members elected by universal suffrage, but in order to prevent the preponderance of the native element, the inhabitants of the colonies are inscribed on two lists, the one comprising all men European born or of European descent; the other includes natives only. Further than this, whilst the minor establishments return an equal number of members on each list, Pondicherry and Chandernagore are represented by a preponderance of Europeans. The last regulations bearing on the subject give the following list of members on the Conseil général:—

	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
Pondicherry . .	7	5	12
Chandernagore .	2	1	3
Karikal . . .	3	3	6
Mahé . . .	1	1	2
Yanaon . . .	1	1	2
	14	11	25

Each establishment elects its own Municipal Council; the electors are borne on separate lists, Europeans on the one, natives on the other, but each elector is free to vote for a member of either colour. The Presidents of these Councils are annually nominated by the Governor of the colony, whilst they themselves elect their own secretary.

Justice.—In the East Indian colonies, as in the West Indian

islands, French jurisdiction was first created by the institution of a "Conseil superiéur" in the year 1701, the Court being empowered to try all criminal and civil cases. In 1772, 1776, and 1784, various changes were introduced, and after the Restoration still further alterations were made in the judicial service to assimilate it more closely to that in vogue in France. Representations on the part of the native community within the last decade resulted in a complete reorganization of the whole system in the year 1879, and at the present day there exists a Court of Appeal at Pondicherry, with Tribunals of First Instance at all the various establishments, and Courts of Juges de Paix in the ten Communes of Pondicherry, Oulgaret, Villenour, Bahour, Karikal, Grande Aldée, Nedouncadou, Chandernagore, Mahé, and Yunaon. At Pondicherry Criminal Sessions are held, at specified periods, for the trial of more serious offences. As in British India, the native of the French dependencies displays a love for litigation which provides ample employment for the very lowly-paid functionaries of the various Courts, the average annual number of cases being between nine and ten thousand.

The various Civil and Criminal Codes which rule the procedure in the Courts in France have been made applicable to the East Indian colonies. Certain modifications have of necessity been inserted to meet differences of religion and race.

Education.—The service of public instruction is confided to an official of the *service interieur*, who is charged with the inspection of those institutions supported by religious bodies, as well as of those endowed by the State.

Primary education is provided for boys in the Calvé college at Pondicherry, in the Seminary of the Frères of the Saint Esprit at Chandernagore, and in twenty-six schools under the care of members of the department of Public Instruction in the various towns. These twenty-eight establishments give a sound education to 2,968 boys, and give employment to 100 professors. Sixteen girls' schools, the staff of which is provided by the Sœurs of Saint Joseph of Cluny, receive 1,201 children.

There are more advanced educational establishments in Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Karikal, the latter being the

outcome of the labour of Protestant, the two former of Catholic Missionaries.

In 1876 a college was established in Pondicherry, at which, after a university career of three years, diplomas of bachelier ès lettres are granted to those pupils who satisfy the examiners.

Agriculture.—The system of land tenure in India is too complicated to be entered on here; but I may say briefly that the French, on succeeding to the possessions which they enjoyed by right of conquest in the early part of the last century, found the land held by different classes of proprietors.

1. The Jagheers, whose estates had been ceded in perpetuity by the reigning sovereign for faithful services free of rent.
2. Lands settled on religious or public institutions.
3. Lands settled in perpetuity on fixed rents.
4. Lands held on lease for varying terms.
5. Waste and uncultivated lands still in possession of the rulers.

The French Government endeavoured to maintain the existing land laws as far as possible, recognising the rights of the holders of land, but demanding, however, from all classes alike a fixed land tax, an onerous burden which occasioned much dissatisfaction. Indeed, to quote M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu, "one met in our establishments in Hindostan all the vices and all the faults of the ordinary French administration; we were guilty of the same error in Asia as in Africa and America, hostility against existing native institutions, arbitrary administrative measures, and neglect of the most necessary public works."

The principal products of these colonies are rice, indigo, cocoanuts, betel, tobacco, sugar, and cotton. Efforts have been made by the French to instruct the native in the higher forms of cultivation; but the "Jardin Colonial" of Pondicherry, which covers 45 acres, and which was destined to work such a revolution in the agriculture of the colony, has become a dense jungle, and has for some years been totally abandoned. The Jardin d'Acclimatation, established in 1801, has been more successful; but it has gradually degenerated into a sort of

market garden, where the European residents obtain vegetables at reasonable rates.

The following table gives, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, the area under cultivation in the colony :—

	Rice.	Betel Nut.	Tobacco.	Indigo.	Fruit.
	acres.	acres.	acres.	acres.	acres.
Pondicherry . .	17,030	90	18	1,150	5,730
Karikal . .	20,165	45	...	770	1,053
Yanaon . .	1,585	...	...	...	1,605
Mahé . .	4,173	...	...	...	9,964

Industries.—The Indian possessions of France are the only dependencies of that nation which boast of any manufactures. All the others live by the exports of the produce of the soil, or of the sea ; but here, owing to the proximity of the rich and prosperous dominions of British India, we have efforts being made to make some use of the agricultural products of the country.

The energy of a former Governor, M. Desbassayns de Richemont, induced a landed proprietor, M. Pontain, to introduce some spindles from Lancashire, and at the present day the three manufacturies of Savana, Vingadapalachetty and Gobalouchetty, give employment to 2,400 workmen, and by means of 24,000 spindles turn out on an average 3,700 lbs. of thread a day.

There are also in the colony seventy-three dyeing establishments, where annually 4,000 pieces of cloth, each piece about 18 yards in length, are turned out for the African market. This industry is being stifled by the absurd restriction which forbids the entry of Pondicherry cloth into Senegal unless it has been previously declared in a French Custom House. The trade of the colony is further crippled by the law which prevents the export to France or French colonies by any other means than French vessels.

Commerce.—Here again we find that the East Indian possessions of France have a far larger commercial connection with foreign countries than with either their own country or her colonies. The absurd restriction compelling all commerce

with the colonies being carried on under the French flag, adds not a little to the slow development of trade.

The returns for the year 1881 show the following amounts :—

	France.	French Colonies.	Foreign Countries.	Total.
Imports from . .	£32,997	£15,354	£213,871	£262,222
Exports to . .	368,941	34,299	306,326	709,566
	£401,938	£49,653	£520,197	£971,788

The principal Imports being—

From France—Wines and Spirits	£8,675
„ „ Cotton Goods	5,000
„ „ Linen	12,511
„ Foreign Countries—Salt Fish	56,887
„ „ Manchester Goods . . .	99,181

The principal Exports being—

To France—Rice	£1,756
„ „ Palm Nuts	196,414
„ Foreign Countries—Rice	73,879

In the same manner we find the carrying trade chiefly in the hands of foreign nations, as the following Table shows :—

Entries from	France—121 ships, with cargoes valued at		£106,772
„	Foreign Ports—410	„ „	165,539
Cleared for	France—121 ships, with cargoes valued at		£151,797
„	Foreign Ports—511	„ „	397,570

Giving a total value of cargo carried by foreign flags at £549,367 against £272,311 carried under the tricolour. The vast discrepancy between the total exports of the colony and the amount of goods cleared out by sea is explained by the fact that a large—a very large proportion of the trade of the French establishments is with British India—a land trade, and consequently is not entered in the navigation returns at all.

Finances.—When the population of the colonies is taken into consideration, the revenue must be considered decidedly

satisfactory, amounting as it does to £75,000; this sum, however, is far from sufficient for the administration, and is supplemented by a sum which appears in the Budget of the Minister of Marine and Colonies. The following table follows out the plan I have adopted with all the other colonies, and clearly shows the drain the colonies are on the Mother Country.

Local Budget Expenditure	£75,392
*Budget of Marine and Colonies . . .	135,706
	£211,098

The principal items of Revenue are:—

Land Tax	£16,407
Salt Tax	15,760
Tax on Spirits	10,320

* The details of this sum are given in Appendix No. 1.

CHAPTER V.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

Tahiti — Its Discovery — Early Navigators—Missionary Successes — Annexation by the French—Consul Pritchard's Protests—Topography—Population—Government and Administration—Justice—Religion—Education—Public Works—Agriculture—Commerce and Finance. *New Caledonia*—Its Discovery—Annexation by the French—Converted into a Convict Settlement—Inefficient Supervision—Escape of Convicts to Australia—Indignation of Australian Government—Their Representations to England—The Recidivist Bill—Topography — Population — Government and Administration — Justice — Education—Public Works—Mines—Free Emigration—Commerce and Finances.

THE French possessions in Oceania consist of three distinct groups: the Society Isles, the Marquesas, and New Caledonia. Up to the year 1860 these three were subservient to one Administration, with the Seat of Government in Tahiti; but on the establishment of the penal settlement in New Caledonia, that island was constituted a separate dependency, its peculiar requirements necessitating a different constitution.

Since the year 1838 the French have claimed a Protectorate over the whole group of islands in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, those islands forming the northern apex of a triangle of which the Tahitian group lies to the south-west, and Gambier Island to the south-east.

The earliest authentic record we have of these distant islands dates from the voyage of the Spanish admiral Mindanao, who was despatched by the Viceroy of Peru, in the year 1595, with orders to survey the Solomon Islands, then recently discovered. Cook and de Bougainville subsequently visited them, and have left interesting records of their im-

pressions; but they were by no means the only navigators who put into their welcome ports for food and water in the days when condensing machines and preserved provisions were not part of the equipment of every vessel.

The genial manners of the natives early pointed out these groups as promising fields for missionaries, and so far back as the close of the last century we find efforts being made to convert the inhabitants to Christianity; efforts which were crowned with the utmost success, for ere the close of the fourth decade of this century the Royal Family publicly abjured their religion and conformed to the Christian faith. The successes of the missionaries had not been without effect in other ways; the inhabitants were devoting themselves to commerce and agriculture, and the islands being naturally fertile and the climate good, it was clear that they would prove a valuable acquisition to any nation that chose to deprive the reigning family of power.

To France was reserved this act of unjustifiable aggression. According to the official publications, the necessity of procuring a harbour in the Southern Pacific Ocean for the refitting and revictualling his ships of war and whalers caused the Minister of Marine to turn his attention to these fertile islands, at that time enjoying peace, prosperity, and independence.

On the 5th May, 1842, Admiral Dupetit-Thouars commenced the work of annexation by hoisting the French flag on the isle of Hivaoa, and on the 17th of the same month he took formal possession of Tahuata and the south-eastern group of islands. This solemn farce was enacted in the presence of Yotete, and of the principal chiefs, who were thus supposed to lend their sanction to the transfer of their lands to the crown of France. In the course of a few days Yotete awoke to the true nature of the transaction of which he had been an innocent spectator, and the attitude he assumed compelled the French admiral to adopt measures which proved to the harmless savage that, henceforth his kingdom had, by right of force, passed into other hands. Leaving a garrison in Tahuata, Dupetit-Thouars proceeded to Noukahive, and there persuaded King Temano to sign a declaration formally

handing over the protection of his own island, and all the others forming the north-western group of the same archipelago, to the French.

Proceeding onwards to Tahiti, Dupetit-Thouars proceeded to put into execution his idea of an annexation of that island. For some years the French and English residents in Tahiti had been engaged in a struggle for ascendancy. Our interests had been confided to Consul Pritchard, a gentleman who united firmness and decision to those other gentlemanlike qualities which endeared him to the Royal Family. This officer had steadily opposed the systematic attempts of the French to obtain surreptitiously the protectorate of the island, and he had succeeded in checkmating the French Consul in an underhand attempt to induce certain of the chiefs to sign a petition addressed to the French Minister demanding the deposition of the King. The success obtained by Mr. Pritchard embittered the feelings, already very strained, between the French and English inhabitants on the island; the former did not hesitate, on the arrival of Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, to revive this feeling amongst their native allies, and they finally succeeded in inducing them to submit an address to the French Admiral demanding the protectorate of France. The Admiral, intoxicated with his recent successes, and thirsting for more annexations, forwarded to his Government a very erroneous statement of the feelings of the inhabitants, maintaining that not only the people but the King were appealing for transfer to France. The Ministry accordingly forwarded instructions for the annexation of the island, and Admiral Dupetit-Thouars at once proceeded to carry out the instructions conveyed to him, which had been based on his one-sided report. The Tahitian authorities formally protested against the assumption of authority on the part of the Admiral. Our Consul, too, protested in the name of Great Britain, but the Admiral was all-powerful on the spot. Mr. Pritchard was made a prisoner on the flagship; the squadron cleared for action; strong landing parties were sent ashore; the Queen was declared deposed, and the French flag hoisted over the island, which was declared an appendage of France. The firm representations of the British Govern-

ment, however, soon proved to M. Dupetit-Thouars, as they proved forty years later to Admiral Pierre, that British subjects could not be imprisoned with impunity. The annexation of the island was annulled, the Admiral recalled, and a handsome pecuniary indemnity paid over to Consul Pritchard.

From this time the rivalry between the French and English factions on the island was waged even more bitterly than before, and our neighbours did not scruple to assist with force those who sought their aid. Revolts against the authority of the Queen were encouraged, and she was finally compelled to fly from her dominions to isles where French intrigues were not so violent.

Little by little our interest in the islands died away. To quote the words of Lord Granville, in referring to Tunis, it was futile to protest against French annexation unless we were prepared to follow up our protests with deeds, and so, in 1847, an agreement was arrived at by which we acknowledged the French Protectorate over the islands. The inhabitants, however, still showed undisguised hostility, and, despite the forced submission of their Queen, they made the most strenuous but the most futile efforts to oppose the French, and in 1852 their opposition necessitated armed intervention on the part of the conquerors. The Queen, weary of the strife, abdicated in favour of her son, but he declined to assume the opprobrium of reigning under French protection. However, on the death of his mother, in 1875, Pomaré V. and his suzerain, the President of the French Republic, thought it time that the absurdity of having two kings in Brentford should cease, and it was suggested that the Tahitian monarch would best serve his own interests by abdicating. Still Pomaré held out until, in 1880, finding himself deprived of all semblance of power, the king assembled together his chiefs, and formally handed over his kingdom to the "Commissaire de la République," who, ever since the young king's accession, had been virtually sovereign of the island.

In December of the same year the Senate ratified the Treaty entered into between the King and the Governors of the island in the following Act:—

"Art. 1st.—The President of the Republic is authorized to notify, and to carry into execution, the declarations signed on the 29th July, 1880, by King Pomaré V. and the Commissary of the Republic to the Society Isles, which declaration made known the cession to France of the full and entire sovereignty of all the territories belonging to the Crown of Tahiti.

"Art. 2nd.—The island of Tahiti and its dependencies are declared French colonies.

"Art. 3rd.—French citizenship is acquired by all subjects of the King of Tahiti."

Since 1881, efforts have been made to develop the resources of these islands; but prior to that date, whether through ignorance or designedly, the whole administrative measures of the French were framed in a manner well calculated to mar their moral and material prosperity. Occupied with a view of providing victualling stations for the French whaling fleet, the harshness of the harbour regulations, and the multiplication of dues, drove even French vessels to seek shelter in other ports; whilst on shore the laws were of such a nature as to drive away intending colonists. To quote M. Leroy Beaulieu:—

"The great obstacle to the development of this colony, indeed of all French colonies, is the harsh and arbitrary nature of all administrative measures. Whalers and merchant vessels have been driven from the port by the formalities and heavy duties which are imposed upon them. No foreigners are allowed to live in the town, unless furnished with the necessary permits, and all are compelled to enter the town at a regular hour. In fact, the island is ruled as if it were a convent."*

Topography.—The group of islands included within that triangular space over which France claims sovereignty may be thus summarized:—

The Marquesas consist of eleven islands, viz., Eiao Motuitu, Hatutou, Nukahiva, Hapou, Hanka, Hivaoa, Tanata Patouhukou, Motani, and Patouhiva. Of these Nukahiva is the most important, boasting a population of 2,700 souls, with an area of about 30,000 acres. Hivaoa is the most densely

* "De la Colonization chez les Peuples Modernes," par Paul Leroy Beaulieu.

populated and larger, but boasts of less cultivation, whilst Motani alone is uninhabited.

Tahiti and *Moorea* have an area respectively of 407 and 52 square miles. The former is the seat of Government, and the residence of the dethroned king, Pomaré V. Tahiti consists of two separate islands, each almost circular in form, connected by a narrow isthmus nearly two miles in length. Each of these separate islands is surmounted by a hill rising almost to the altitude of what we should call a mountain, the loftier of the two being nearly 8,000 feet high.

The Archipelago of Tuamotou is composed of eighty-one separate islets, most of them being uninhabited and merely coral reefs; the principal island, Anaa, is the residence of a French official, who is responsible to the Governor of Tahiti for the administration of his scattered and unimportant charge.

The Archipelago of Tubuai consists of the four islands of Tubuai, Raivavai, Rimatara, and Rouroutu: these two last have refused to submit to the French protection, and, hitherto, the warlike nature of the population, and other more pressing concerns, have induced the French to allow this vexed question to remain in abeyance.

Rapa is a small island with a population of about 150 souls, situated in 27° 38′ south lat., and 148° 30′ west long. It is of no importance, politically or commercially, but nevertheless it has been incorporated into the Great Republic.

Hualine, Raiateia, and *Bora Bora* contain a population of about 3,000, and have some slight trading connection with the larger groups, but otherwise they are of little value.

Population.—According to the most recent statistics available in the office of the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies, the total population of the French possessions in Polynesia is as follows:—

Islands of Tahiti and Moorea	10,808
„ Rapa	153
Archipelago of Tuamotou	7,270
„ Marquesas	5,776
„ Tubuai	693
The Gambier Islands	547

In Tahiti there are 974, and in the Marquesas 71 French-born subjects; but, as a rule, the foreign residents are not of a stamp to increase the reverence of the islanders for Europeans. They are, for the most part, deserters from merchant vessels or whalers, or else men desirous of forgetting their own antecedents and their own nationality, and who have fled to Polynesia as being a spot where they would, in all probability, remain hidden for ever from the public eye. Drunkards and debauchees, their presence is a blot on European civilization, and a plague-spot which requires eradication ere we can hope to see the influence of Christianity regain the level it had reached prior to the French annexation of these islands.

Government and Administration.—The French dependencies in Polynesia are placed under the authority of a Governor, who is assisted in his administrative functions by a "Conseil d'Administration," which consists of the head of the judicial service, the senior military officer, the chief of the "Service Intérieur," and four inhabitants, two being French-born, elected by the suffrages of their fellow-citizens, two being nominated by the Governor himself.

When this council meets to discuss any matters of finance, the members of the "Conseil Colonial," twelve in number, join in its deliberations: six of these gentlemen must be French-born citizens, the remainder natives who are able to speak and write French. This organization exists only in Tahiti; in the other islands there is a resident Governor, who unites the functions of Governor, Commander of the Forces, and Chief Magistrate. He is in every respect subordinate to the Governor of Tahiti, and appeals against his decisions can be made to the tribunals of that isle. These local Residents have very restricted authority: they are forbidden to enter on any expenditure beyond a sum of 2,000 francs (£80) without the consent of the Conseil Colonial of Tahiti.

At Nukahiva, the chief town in the Marquesas group, which boasts a population of nearly 6,000 souls, the *personnel* at the disposal of the Governor is somewhat restricted in numbers. A Brigadier of Gendarmerie, with two gendarmes, and four native policemen, are there to maintain order. A subordinate

of the Finance Department assists in the recovery of taxes and in the task of maintaining a just equilibrium between local receipts and payments. An old sailor, with a smattering of English, fulfils the functions of harbour-master, and he is assisted by four native boatmen, whilst a sergeant of the Artillery of the Marine, with five privates, comprises the garrison.

Justice.—In the lesser islands, the French Resident acts as arbitrator in all minor matters, being invested with the power of a Juge de Paix. In Tahiti there is a Court of Appeal, a Tribunal of the First Instance, and a Tribunal Supérieur, and to these courts all appeals against the decisions of the Residents of the other islands are relegated. The jurisdiction of these courts is governed by the French Codes, which have been in force in the islands since the year 1868.

Religion and Education.—Since the close of the last century, Polynesia has been looked upon as a promising field for missionary enterprises, and for close on ninety years Protestant pastors have been labouring amongst the islanders, and their schools have been the cause of unmixed blessings to the inhabitants. Unfortunately, the injudicious actions of some of these gentlemen threw them into antagonism to the French, and the unfortunate Pritchard episode has always been laid at the door of the missionaries by our neighbours. It is not to be wondered at, then, that one of their first acts on annexation was to make the law annulling religious education applicable to their new-found colonies. Accordingly, instructions have been issued for the laicization of the primary schools in the islands, and members of the Department of Public Instruction have been despatched from France with a view of carrying these new regulations into effect.

Public Works.—The Local Budget has for some years provided a sum of £10,000 per annum for the maintenance of the pilot service, the repairs of the harbour works, construction of lighthouses and semaphores, and other expenses connected with the navigation of these islands. With such small sums at their disposal it is impossible for the Conseil Colonial to embark on any large undertakings ; indeed, the major part of the expen-

diture goes in the support of the many officials who are connected with this department in the various islands, leaving an infinitesimal sum for the commencement of new works after the necessary annual repairs have been executed.

Agriculture and Commerce.—The efforts of the French Ministry to encourage the colonization of these islands have met with the most strenuous opposition on the part of the islanders. There is not an acre of ground for which some claimant cannot be found, and the hatred with which the inhabitants look upon their conquerors has resulted in the most obstinate refusal to sell land to Frenchmen. Were it possible to overcome this hostility on the part of the islanders, and to instil into the French the commonest notion of colonization, there is no reason why the Polynesian group might not become a valuable field for emigration; the soil is rich and fertile, not only affording splendid grazing land for cattle on the uplands of the larger islands, but it is peculiarly adapted for the production of coffee, cotton, sugar, and other tropical products.

The absurd restrictions of the French to which M. Leroy Beaulieu alludes have, however, to a great extent stifled the development of trade in the colony. Here, as elsewhere, we find the Polynesian group a commercial field for the enterprise of other nations who override French prejudices, and, despite restrictive tariffs in force, carry on a trade in face of all obstacles—a trade which is slowly improving.

The import dues of the colony are deserving of a passing notice: on all goods they amount to 20 per cent. on the net invoice, the following *additional* imposts being levied:—

	s.	*d.*	
Tea	1	0	a pound
Sugar	0	3	„
Whiskey and Hollands . .	6	8	a gallon
Brandy and Foreign Wines .	4	2	„
Wines of France . . .	0	10	

The Trade movements of the colony in 1881 were as follows:—

	France.	Foreign Countries.
Imports from . . .	£18,600	£107,640
Exports to . . .	15,400	93,600

The principal Exports being Mother-of-Pearl . £39,526
„ „ Coprah . . . 28,088

The chief Imports being Wines and Spirits, the value of which amounted to £22,295.

The Shipping movements in the same year were :—

	French.		Foreign Flags.	
	No.	Tonnage.	No.	Tonnage.
Entered . .	21	4,411 tons.	92	11,386 tons.
Cleared out . .	21	4,483 „	89	10,390 „

Finance.—Young as the colony is, it could not be expected to carry on its own administration without material aid from the mother country, although the taxation does reach the high figure of 20s. 4d. per head. The following are the principal items of revenue, but it will be seen that they only amount to about one-fourth of the total expenditure :—

Local Budget.

		Expenditure.
Poll Tax	£5,822	
Licence Tax	1,920	
Tax on Native Spirits . .	520	
Spirit Licences	1,880	
Customs	16,280	
Miscellaneous Receipts . .	16,478	
		43,000
*Budget of Minister of Marine .		177,007
		£220,007

New Caledonia.

One hundred and ten years have elapsed since Captain Cook, sailing through the Southern Pacific Ocean, sighted the island of New Caledonia ; its rugged mountain peaks clad with rich forests, and the smiling verdure of its grassy slopes, served to remind him of the Bonnie Scotland he loved so well, and from that day the island has borne its name of New Caledonia. Visited often by English and French commanders, even made the field of missionary labours on the part of some Jesuits

* The various items are given in Appendix No. 1.

from Paris, no attempts were made by any of the great colonizing Powers to occupy the island until, in the year 1851, the massacre of a boat's crew belonging to the French frigate *Alcmèni*, commanded by the Comte d'Harcourt, drew the attention of the Emperor Napoleon III. to its many valuable properties, and, in 1853, Admiral Febvrier-Despointes took possession of it without opposition on the part of the natives, doubtless because the natives were ignorant of the true meaning of the solemn farce that was being enacted before them. In the end of the same year the neighbouring Pine islands were occupied, and a few years later, the Loyalty islands. By this time, however, the natives had arrived at the real meaning of the word annexation, and the French found themselves exposed to a lively resistance on the part of the aborigines, whose hatred to their white conquerors time has not softened. Not a year passes by that some outbreak does not occur, which requires to be put down with more than a show of force. In the year 1878 a rebellion broke out which necessitated the employment of a considerable body of troops. Fighting on their own soil, adopting the tactics of the Maories, the natives of New Caledonia proved more than a match for the small detachments at first sent against them, and it was not until France had put over 3,000 men into the field, and had thoroughly starved her opponents into submission, that they succeeded, after a campaign lasting more than a year, in restoring peace and order.

In the year 1864 Napoleon determined to convert New Caledonia into a penal establishment for French convicts. The terrible mortality in French Guiana, and the expense and immorality of the hulks in the naval dockyards, induced him to cast about for some distant possession to which he could deport his criminals. New Caledonia was sufficiently distant from France; and being an island separated by some hundred miles of water from her neare t neighbour, he judged that its criminal settlers would be unable to inflict any harm on the surrounding islands. Up till the fall of the Empire, convicts in some numbers were deported to the island, but they were sufficiently guarded to render their escape difficult. On the

suppression of the Reign of Terror inspired by the Commune, it became a serious question as to the disposal of the human fiends who destroyed the Paris the Prussians had so scrupulously spared. In an evil moment for our Australian colonies, M. Thiers bethought himself of New Caledonia, and from that day criminals of all classes have been deported to that island, which has become a by-word for the inefficiency of its prison regulations, and a blot on the boasted civilization of France. The cannibalism of the aborigines is outvied by the cruelty, vice, and immorality of the convicts,—vice and immorality which are connived at by the French Government. So lax is the supervision that convicts, on arriving, are turned adrift in the streets of Noumea, and the authorities are only too pleased if by purchase or violence the offscourings of French society can procure the means of escaping to the neighbouring British colonies, whence their extradition is never demanded. The frequency of these escapes, the despicable though by no means desperate character of the convicts who have found their way to Australian soil, has naturally roused the indignation of our colonial authorities, and very firm remonstrances were addressed by the British Foreign Office to the French Ministry. M. Ferry, with that courtesy which characterizes the Ministers of the Republic, refused to recognize the right of the British Government to interfere in a question which, he maintained, is one concerning the internal administration of France. But though the British Cabinet seem disposed to acquiesce in every outrage committed by the Republican Government, the Executive of our Australian colonies are by no means prepared to allow the question to be shelved, and the Bill which provides for the deportation to New Caledonia of Habitual Criminals awakened in the minds of the Australians very bitter feelings. They maintained that though France has a perfect right to deport as many of her criminals to New Caledonia as she pleases, she is bound to take the most effective measures to prevent those criminals preying upon neighbouring settlements; and they complain, and with justice, that when these criminals escape to Australian shores, and become a burden to the English colonist, the French authorities not only make no

demands for their extradition, but refuse to receive them again.

The protests of the Australian colonies have been growing stronger and stronger, until they have passed from protests to threats. Unfortunately, the firmness of the British Colonial Minister has not been maintained, and the authorities on the Quai d'Orsay appear to think that the Australians are powerless to act without the sanction of the British Government. Our cousins, however, hold different views; and, reminding the Home Government of the threats by which they succeeded in putting a stop to the deportation of British criminals to their shores, they have warned us that, should they be unable to obtain any redress from the French Government, they will be compelled to charter a vessel, ship on her all the French convicts now in the Australian gaols, and land them bodily on the coast of France. Such a course, they maintain, would effectually bring France to reason, and would, under the circumstances, be more than justifiable.

In the months of July, August, September, and October, 1883, fifty-three public meetings were held in the principal cities of Australia to protest against the action of the French Government, and copies of the resolutions arrived at were forwarded to the Colonial Office. Armed with these earnest remonstrances, Lord Derby again urged on the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to warn M. Challemel-Lacour of the increasing apprehension with which the Récidivist Bill was being received in Australia, and to beg of him as a friendly measure to abstain from pressing forward a project which would infallibly mar the harmonious relations existing between the two countries. With almost Oriental diplomacy, the French Foreign Minister replied that the Récidivist Bill had not yet received the formal approval of the Senate, and that it might by that august body be relegated to the Lower Chamber, and therefore it would be impolitic to enter on the discussion of a project not yet become law. In the meantime, however, the French Government acted as if the Bill was an Act, and under its provisions several hundreds of habitual criminals were despatched to New Caledonia, in defiance of the moderate re-

monstrances of Lord Lyons, thus arousing still further public feeling in our Australian colonies.

And, indeed, the law is one which is well calculated to arouse the just indignation of the inhabitants of Australia. Under its provisions—

a. Any criminal who within a period of ten years shall have suffered imprisonment four times, for terms of three months or upwards, for the crime of theft, breach of trust, swindling, destruction of trees or crops, incitation of minors to debauchery, or outrage on public modesty;

b. Any criminal who in a period of ten years shall have been sentenced to *travaux forcés* on two separate occasions, or once sentenced to *travaux forcés*, once to imprisonment for three months;

c. Or who, in the space of ten years, shall have been sentenced to imprisonment on six separate occasions, one of which must have been at least three months in duration,

may be deported to New Caledonia by order of any Tribunal Correctionnel; and, on arrival, shall be despatched to one of the agricultural penal establishments, where concessions of land are made to those desirous of receiving them. No restraint whatever is placed on the movements of these gentry, beyond a prohibition to return to France. They are kept distinct from the convicts in the island; these latter are interned in foul dens, where every vice is practised, unchecked by the gaolers, who connive at debauchery and crime, in order to lessen their own labours.

The récidivists or habitual criminals can regain their civil rights so far as New Caledonia is concerned; that is, they take with them to their new home the proud privilege of voting for the municipal election in the Communes of the island, and they may aspire even to sit in the *fauteuil* of a Mayor. In fact, the Bill aims at laying the foundation of a prosperous colony in New Caledonia by the deportation of those men and women who now flood the gaols in the mother country. It is based on an erroneous reading of our own Transport

system of fifty years ago, and is the working out, on an enlarged scale, and in an injudicious manner, of the suggestions thrown out by M. Jules Duval in his excellent work on the colonies of France.

Topography.—The island of New Caledonia, which is situated between the 20th and 22nd parallels of south latitude, and the 159th and 161st of east longtitude, covers an area of about 6,240 square miles. The general run of the island is from north-west to south-east, a double chain of mountains running parallel to the coast, the summits of which attain an altitude of close on 5,000 feet. Between these mountain ridges lies a fertile valley, in which valuable carboniferous and metalliferous deposits have been discovered.

The capital, Noumea, a town of about 8,000 inhabitants, is situated in the extreme south-western angle of the island, and, if the report of recent visitors can be relied on, is a very hell upon earth. On the island of Nou, about one mile from Noumea, the main penal establishment of the colony has been constructed; but the convicts, after passing a probationary period within the four walls of the prison, are scattered on parole throughout the island, some being employed in gangs on public works, and others allotted to planters or to the proprietors of the various mineral working companies, the object of the French being to let their subsistence fall on other shoulders than that of the Government.

Population.—No great care appears to have been bestowed in the completion of the census returns of the colony, and the difference of sexes is not given in the Tableaux de Population of the colonies of France recently published.

From it, however, I gather that the population consists as under:—

Civil Officials	316
Troops and Convict Guards	2,973
Religious Orders	102
Civil Population	3,166
Engaged Labourers	2,693
Natives	40,000
Convicts	9,334
	58,584

Since this return was issued the number of convicts has been sensibly increased, over 3,000 récidivists having been deported under the new law.

Government and Administration.—The administration of the island is confided to a Governor, who is aided in his functions by the heads of the various Government departments; the council consisting of the "Director de l'Intérieur," the Commandant of the Troops, Head of the Convict Establishment, and Chief Judge. The "Conseil Privé" is further strengthened by two members of the colonial community, nominated by the Governor himself; but when financial questions are under discussion, the Municipal Council of Noumea details four of its own members, and three gentlemen are selected by the Governor from the other municipalities of the island, to bestow a representative character on the assembly.

In the year 1879 the colony was divided into five Cantons, Noumea, with 683 electors on its municipal rolls; Kanala, with 104; Houailon, 98; Touho, with 42; Onégoa, with 94. The councils of these cantons are endowed with power enabling them to levy rates and taxes, construct public works, open up local communications, bestow grants of land. The colony, however, so far as the inland cantons are concerned, is quite in its infancy, and Noumea is the only one which can boast of any return from its so-called rates.

Justice.—New Caledonia being essentially a penal colony, the inhabitants of which are in the main the offscourings of French society, or engaged labourers exasperated at their treatment by their French masters, it is not a matter of wonder that crime should be rife in the island. The judicial statistics do not touch on the offences committed by convicts, whose punishment is arranged for by the authorities of the various penal establishments; nor do the engaged labourers occupy the attention of the criminal courts. They are looked upon as slaves by their masters, who have practically power of life and death over them. The lash and imprisonment in privately-constructed dens are frequently inflicted without any higher authority than that of the master; and, so long as the manner in which the engaged labourer is killed is not too sudden or

too outrageous, French justice does not feel itself called on to interfere.

A Tribunal of the First Instance and a Court of Appeal exists at Noumea; four Juges de Paix exercise their functions at the capital, Onégoa, Bourail, and Chepenehé. Justice is at a discount when the salaries of the judges are disproportionate to the income of the lower classes of society; here the pay of a Juge de Paix is but £240 a year, whilst a labourer in the fields earns 10 francs (8s. 4d.) a day. It is stated that large sums daily change hands even in the convict prisons, where gambling is as rife as in the casinos of a French watering-place, and that by means of the sums thus won the convicts are enabled not merely to obtain luxuries usually denied to men in their position, but so to influence their gaolers as to obtain their liberty, or at any rate an exchange of quarters to some agricultural settlement.

	Civil Cases.	Commercial Cases.	Criminal.	Simple Police Suits.
Court of Appeal	10	17	26	—
Tribunal of Noumea	436	80	155	—
Juges de Paix	—	—	—	585

Education.—The laicization of the schools for primary education is being rapidly proceeded with in New Caledonia, which, being a new colony, has never been thoroughly under the domination of the religious orders. In 1881 there were seventeen schools, attended by 744 boys, and twenty for girls (seven being conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny), giving instruction to 835 pupils.

Public Works.—For many years the Local Budget has allocated a sum averaging about £10,000 per annum to the construction of public works; but this by no means represents the results obtained, as the services of the convicts have been utilized in erecting lighthouses, improving the harbour accommodation, throwing up in strategic positions small forts to overawe the natives, improving roads between the principal places,

and in organizing a system of water supply from the town of Noumea, which in the earlier days of its occupation was mainly dependent on a much-befouled stream.

Mines.—Within the last few years valuable mines of various metals have been discovered in the colony. Their discovery has naturally given an impetus to immigration, and the principal immigrants, it is needless to say, have been Englishmen. Copper, nickel, iron, cobalt, and coal are all found in the island, and are all worked with more or less success by trading companies, some of which are of very considerable magnitude.

Copper has been discovered in thirty-six different places, but only two mines are in working order at Balade and Bomamoula. The former mine up to the end of 1883 had exported 43,000 tons of metal, the pure copper averaging 17 per cent. Over four hundred workmen are employed in these mines, three-quarters of these being convicts on ticket-of-leave.

Nickel.—The mines of this metal are being worked with great success at Thio-Canalo and Houailon, the annual exports amounting in value to about £100,000. Unfortunately, owing to the inability of thoroughly working the ore in the island, it is exported in its natural condition to France, thus enhancing the cost of production, and greatly diminishing the profits of speculation.

Iron.—Thirty-four concessions have been granted for the working of iron ore in New Caledonia. The principal mine, "Lucky Hit," is in the hands of some Australian miners, who, it is said, are doing exceedingly well.

Free Emigration.—The present lawless condition of New Caledonia, and the stagnation in the commerce of the colony, has impelled the French Government to look around for means to develop its natural resources. The difficulty lies in the power of inducing freed men to emigrate to a country where the society consists of the scum and refuse of France, and when that society is daily receiving additions from those habitual criminals which the new Récidivist Law empowers Local Tribunals to deport to that colony.

The French Ministry, by means of posting the walls of the towns with placards setting forth the advantages of New

Caledonia as a place of residence, and by holding out certain advantages to intending emigrants, are endeavouring to attract attention to the island, but hitherto their efforts have met with but scant recognition. Official documents dwell on the salubrity of its climate, the delightful medium of its temperature, the fertility of its soil, alike good for the cultivation of sugar as for the agricultural products of France, and for the raising of cattle—all these points are dilated on with the versatile pen of the official Frenchman. Free passages are granted to all French citizens who have fulfilled the term of their military service, and on landing in the colony they are entitled to free grants of land amounting to 9 acres for each family, this area being increased to $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres if the family consists of four or more souls. On any member of a family, already in possession of a Government grant, marrying, he or she receives a further gratuitous concession of 9 acres.

Immigrants from Alsace and Lorraine are granted lots of 25 acres, thus placing them on better terms than members of those provinces France has been able to retain.

Europeans of other countries are entitled to what are termed "Concessions à titre onéreux." They are permitted to purchase land at the price of ten francs an acre, payable in advance, in twenty-four half-yearly instalments.

Commerce.—It may be owing to the absence of free labour, due to the absurd restrictions and harassing regulations enacted by French officials in their colonies rather than to any natural drawbacks in the soil of New Caledonia, which still keeps the commercial statistics of the colony at such a low figure. Official returns show a dimunition rather than an increase in the annual exports.

	1863.	1870.	1880.	1881.
Imports	£59,360	£129,967	£316,177	£284,564
Exports	1,844	12,146	110,286	61,362

In the year 1863 the colony was in its infancy, the principal items of import being the food for the garrison. In 1870 the

penal establishment numbered about 800 souls, and the imports requisite for their subsistence had naturally increased. In 1881 close on 10,000 prisoners were distributed over the island; their rations naturally form a serious item in the amount of exportations from France, which in that year reached the sum of £80,000.

The movements of navigation during the last two years, of which returns have been published, have been as under:—

	1880.			1881.		
	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Passengers.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Passengers.
Entries . .	111	36,178	572	127	42,576	1,433
Cleared out .	118	34,123	424	121	41,542	1,338

Finances.—It cannot be expected that New Caledonia will in anyway be self-supporting; as a penal settlement it must naturally depend on the mother country for heavy pecuniary aid, and this is ungrudgingly bestowed, as in the case of the other French colonies.

The Local Budget annually provides for the expenditure of		£76,600
a sum derived from various resources, the principal contributions being:—		
Tax upon Wines and Spirits	£14,600	
Sale of Lands . . .	18,360	
Land Tax	2,250	
*The Budget of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies further aids the Colony in		508,075
		£584,675

* The items of this sum will be found in Appendix No. 1.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER INDIA.

Early Dealings of the French in Annam—The Jesuit Bishop's Treaty of 1787 directed against the English—Cruelty of Annamites to Missionaries—French Threats—Occupation of Saigon—War of 1861—Annexation of Cochin-China—Dupuis' Explorations in Tonkin—Garnier's Campaign and Death—Rivière's Expedition—Final Treaty and Annexation of the whole Eastern portion of the Peninsula—Topography — Population — Government and Administration — Justice — Education—Religion—Public Works — Agriculture and Commerce—Finance.

THE rise of French influence in the peninsula of Further India has been as rapid as its history has been interesting. Ninety-nine years ago, an exile King of Annam, brought into contact with the Jesuit missionaries of Siam, sought the assistance of Louis XVI. against the usurper who sat on the throne of Hué. The head of the mission at Bankok accompanied Gialong's eldest son, Prince Canh Dzue to Paris, and there pointed out, in an able memorandum addressed to the Ministry at Versailles, the advantages to be derived from an alliance with the exiled ruler of Annam. The French power had received its deathblow in Hindostan, and Bishop Pigneau de Behaine saw in the harbours of Further India a means of striking at British commerce and so shattering British supremacy.

The document is still valuable. Though its arguments were addressed a century ago by a Jesuit Bishop to a French Monarch, they are yet the arguments used by French Ministers to a Republican people.

"The balance of power in India seems so much in favour of the English, that one is compelled to regard the re-establish-

ment of the equilibrum a very difficult matter to accomplish. Perhaps a settlement in Cochin-China will be the surest and most efficacious way of attaining this end. In fact, if we cast a glance on the products of Cochin-China, and upon the situations of its ports, it is easily seen that the greatest advantages are to be gained from a settlement there—advantages both in time of peace and in time of war.

"Firstly. Naturally the most efficacious way of fighting the English in India is to ruin, or at any rate to weaken, her commerce. In time of peace, the profits of their China trade would be greatly diminished, as we should be able to carry on trade with China at far less expense and with greater ease than the English.

"Secondly. In time of war it would be easy to put an absolute stoppage on this commerce with any hostile nation whatever; for it would be easy to prevent any vessel from either entering or leaving Chinese waters, by merely placing a few cruisers in the straits or at the mouth of the Canton river.

"Thirdly. In Cochin-China we find easy and inexpensive means for careening and cleaning our ships, and even for building new vessels.

"Fourthly. Everything necessary for revictualling our squadrons, and for supplying our other colonies with the necessaries of life, are easily obtainable in Cochin-China.

"Fifthly. In case of need it will be easy to raise soldiers and sailors from amongst the inhabitants.

"Sixthly. It will be easy from this, as a base, to prevent the English from extending their Empire to the East."

Louis XVI. and his Ministers were not slow to perceive the immense advantages that might accrue to France were she to occupy a strong position in the peninsula of Further India. The marvellous successes of the French squadron in Eastern waters would have been rendered more striking had they been possessed of harbours less distant than those of the Isles of France and of Réunion. There were ardent spirits in the country who still dreamed of a revival of French power in Hindostan, and, imbued with these views, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into between His Most Christian

Majesty of France and the exiled sovereign of Annam, in which the former guaranteed to provide five French and two colonial regiments, a million of dollars, and a squadron, for the purpose of setting Gialong on his throne again; Gialong, on his part, ceding certain territories to France, and further engaging to aid Louis with men, ships, and material in case of need.

The outbreak of the Revolution prevented Louis XVI. fulfilling his share of the treaty, but the Bishop nevertheless succeeded in inducing a number of Frenchmen to accompany him to Cochin-China. By their aid Gialong recovered his throne, re-organized his army and defences after a European model, and ever remained a warm admirer of his new allies. He was not backward in rewarding his more immediate supporters, and, under his all-powerful protection, Pigneau de Behaine was enabled to prosecute his missionary work with redoubled vigour. The disciples of Confucius, however, did not on all matters agree with their sovereign; constant and open were the differences between the natives of the kingdom and the Jesuit priests, and on the death of Gialong, Minh Mang, his successor, treated the missionaries with the greatest rigour. In 1833, his fanaticism showed itself more openly, and he issued a royal edict, not only forbidding the entry of fresh priests, but directing all those in his kingdom to withdraw under pain of death. Threats such as these had but little effect on these brave followers of our Saviour. Between the years 1833 and 1840 nine missionaries met with a violent death, and when, in the latter year, Minh Mang died, his successor, Thien Tri, redoubled the persecutions of which his father had been guilty. These persecutions reached the ears of the French Court, and, in 1843, a French frigate anchored off Tourane, a seaport near the mouth of the Hué river, and demanded the release of some Jesuits whom Thien Tri held in captivity. Some of the older councillors still remembered the means by which Thien Tri's grandfather had regained his throne, and they persuaded the King to release his prisoners. This he did, but with a bad grace, and the frigate left the coast without having exhibited to the natives anything more indicative of the power of France than a boat's crew and an epauletted officer. Thien Tri repented him of his

leniency, and straightway redoubled his cruelties ; consequently, in 1847, Admiral Lapierre, commanding the French squadron in Chinese waters, anchored off Tourane, and forwarded a still stronger menace to the King. The menace was answered with insolence, and Lapierre at once bombarded the forts, dismantled the guns, blew up the powder magazines, but, not feeling strong enough to push on to Hué, withdrew his vessels, taking care at the same time to explain to the Mandarins that any further persecution of missionaries would be answered in a more complete manner.

In the following year Thien Tri died, and his younger son, Tu Duc, succeeded to the throne. No sooner had he put down the inevitable attempts of other claimants to wrest the Crown from him, than he turned his attention to the missionaries, and, in 1851, embarked on a war of extermination; offering rewards, not only for the heads of priests, but for those of Christian converts.

In 1856, the Emperor Napoleon III. despatched a warning missive to Tu Duc, which was without effect, and in 1858, finding that the executions of missionaries were being carried on with ever-increasing vigour, a strong force was despatched to Tourane, and an ultimatum forwarded by the Admiral to Hué. The King vouchsafed no answer; he had accurately gauged the strength of his opponents, and he felt himself secure in his capital. He, however, adopted a temporizing policy, under cover of which he withdrew all his specie and material from the forts at Tourane. When the patience of the Admiral was exhausted, a final message was forwarded to the Mandarin in command by the French Admiral, and on the following morning, the squadron opened its bombardment. The fire was not returned, and on a landing party reaching the works they were found abandoned, and all guns withdrawn. Deficient of transport, it was impossible to march on Hué, so the French Commander was forced to content himself with occupying the deserted works until he should have organized the means of making an advance on the capital. The enforced inactivity was not only hurtful to the French army of occupation, but was decidedly stiffening the back of Tu Duc. Sick-

ness was rife. Hundreds of men were in hospitals with fever; a very high death-rate was already established. All prospect of a rapid move on Tu Duc's stronghold was necessarily abandoned, and Tourane being untenable on account of its unhealthiness, and being useless from a strategic point of view, Admiral Rigault de Genouilly determined to shift the scene of operation to the southern port of Saigon, where every facility existed for the establishment of a powerful military station. Early in February, 1859, the force embarked, and on the 17th after a sharp bombardment, in which the French fleet suffered over 150 casualties, the works in front of Saigon were reduced to ruin, and the town forced to surrender. The French success was complete: 400 cannon of various calibre, and of all patterns under the sun, 6,000 small arms of all sizes and makes, 160,000 lbs. of gunpowder, and 500,000 dollars in specie, fell into the hands of the victors; they forthwith forwarded an ultimatum to the King, who now evinced a desire to treat.

The terms offered were too onerous; the French insisted on four points, on none of which was it likely the King would yield—

1. Religious liberty throughout Annam.
2. Opening of all ports to European commerce.
3. Cession of Saigon to France.
4. Recognition of the French claims, under the Treaty of 1787, to certain lands in the neighbourhood of Tourane and to the islands of Hai-wen and Poulo Condor.

Hostilities were again resumed, and the French drove the Annamite Army out of their position near Saigon; the losses of the victors were considerable, and unfortunately the outbreak of the rainy season compelled them to adopt a strictly defensive attitude. The outbreak of the China War of 1860 necessitated the reduction of the little force in Saigon. Thus reduced to inactivity, they were made the subject of the most persistent attacks on the part of the Annam forces, who were naturally encouraged by the inability of the French to assume the offensive.

The signature of the Treaty of Pekin, however, enabled Admiral Charnier to resume active operations, and in February

1861, the provinces of Mitho and Bien Hoa were occupied by the French. Overtures were again made by Tu Duc, and in June, 1862, a treaty was entered into between France and Annam, in which the latter ceded the provinces of Bien Hoa, Gia Dinh, and Mytho, opened certain ports to European trade, and sanctioned religious freedom.

This last clause was the cause of fresh disturbances. On more than one occasion Romish priests were ill-treated in Annam villages, and Tu Duc was accused of direct complicity in these persecutions. No proof was adduced against him, but the mere fact of the treaty not having been carried out in its entirety, was considered sufficient excuse for the annexation by France of the three provinces of Vinh-mong, Chan-doc, and Han Tien.

These wholesale annexations caused Tu Duc to turn to his suzerain, the Emperor of China, to whom the Kings of Annam ever paid tribute, and at whose hands they received their investiture. But the sovereign of the Celestial Empire had too recently felt the weight of the Western Powers, and he declined to interfere between his vassal and France. Tu Duc was accordingly compelled to nurse his resentment in silence.

Secure in the commerce of Southern Annam, France now cast about how she was to prevent the trade of Southern China from filtering through Yunnan into British Burmah. The memorandum of Pigneau de Behaine was, like the writing on Belshazzar's walls, ever present to the eyes of French statesmen.

"The most certain way of damaging the English in India is to ruin, or at any rate to weaken, her commerce. In time of peace, being situated nearer to China, we should undoubtedly absorb much of her trade; the voyage being shorter, and the expense of transit cheaper, than to India, Chinese merchants would naturally prefer the French ports in Cochin-China to the more distant ones of Calcutta and Madras."

Three-quarters of a century previously had those words been written, and in the meantime the French, acting on the advice of the militant Bishop, were masters of Lower Annam. Yet the commerce of England was not weakened, and the Chinese

merchants had not shown that preference for the ports of Cochin-China which the Reverend Prelate had anticipated. In order to ensure the desired end, it was obvious that the whole peninsula of Further India must be conquered. When France desires annexation, an excuse is not long forthcoming.

The Taeping rebellion had rendered commerce in the northern provinces of Annam dangerous, and the Delta of the Red River of Tonkin had become infested by pirates, who levied blackmail on all traders. Tu Duc, anxious to restore peace and order in his dominions, naturally turned to China, from whose southern frontiers these brigands had escaped, asking the aid of his suzerain towards their subjugation. This was by no means the line the French wished to be followed, and a despatch-boat was directed to proceed to the mouth of the Red River, to ascertain the actual condition of the country, and the feasibility of its occupation.

At the same time a daring French merchant, M. Dupuis, was encouraged in his scheme of running a cargo of munitions of war up the Red River for the force of the Governor of Yunnan. Dupuis' voyage was successful; but, flushed with his success, he embarked on a second expedition, which was forbidden by the Mandarins of Hanoi. Dupuis, nothing daunted, opposed force to force, and the King, Tu Duc, anxious to avoid a collision with a French subject, begged the French Governor of Saigon to compel the return of his countryman. Admiral Dupré at once detached M. Garnier, an able and gallant but injudicious officer, to inquire into the case. This hot-headed young naval lieutenant, throwing himself heart and soul into the projects of Dupuis, forwarded an ultimatum to the Mandarins of Hanoi, and followed it up by assaulting and carrying the city. His success was not of long duration. Recovering from the surprise occasioned by the suddenness and audacity of his attack, the Annamites drew Garnier into an ambush, where his little force was annihilated and he himself killed. Matters now assumed a serious aspect. The French, in justice, were compelled to disavow the unauthorized conduct of Lieutenant Garnier, and they were averse to entering upon a war the foundation of which had been laid in such an un-

authorized manner. A cautious diplomatist was despatched to Hué, and this gentleman, M. Philastre, succeeded in undoing all the evil wrought by Garnier and Dupuis, and in carrying through a treaty in which Tu Duc opened the Red River to French commerce, and permitted the location of Consuls with armed escorts at certain towns. China, however, refused to acknowledge the validity of the new treaty, and France, weak from the struggle with Germany, was unable to act with sufficient vigour to carry it into effect in face of the opposition of the Celestial Empire. Years passed by, years marked by endless bickerings on the part of the French, by endless remonstrances on the part of the Chinese. Recovering gradually from her weakness and humiliation, France embarked on a policy of feverish activity, and an expedition was despatched to the Red River of Tonkin in the year 1882, with orders to carry into effect the Treaty of 1874, and to clear Tonkin of the piratical bands who rendered the navigation of that river unsafe. The command was entrusted to Captain Rivière, and the story of Garnier was re-enacted with all Garnier's dash, with all Garnier's determination. Hanoi was stormed and captured, and the whole delta of the Red River passed under French protection—a protection France claimed over the whole kingdom of Annam. Then adopting to the full his lamented predecessor's plan of operations, Rivière, with all Garnier's indiscretion, was betrayed into a sortie from the walls of the Residency, and perished miserably in an engagement where the French did not show the gallantry so characteristic of their race.

There was no doubt that the Mandarins of Tu Duc were implicated in the attack on Rivière's detachment, nor was there any doubt that towns in the vicinity of Hanoi were garrisoned by Chinese troops. France, however, pined for a little glory, and the Ministry had not much difficulty in obtaining credit for a campaign on a sufficiently large scale to admit of the subjugation of the whole northern provinces of the kingdom of Annam. The operations opened disastrously enough. Entangled in the swampy rice-fields in the neighbourhood of Hanoi, the French suffered a series of disastrous defeats, which were, however, amply atoned for by the bombardment of Hué and the

carrying out of a treaty in which Tu Duc's successor acknowledged the French protectorate, and besought their assistance in restoring order in Tonkin. Resolved to make herself mistress of the whole kingdom, and fearing China, whose attitude every day became more threatening, France rose to the occasion. Her Ministers acted with firmness and decision; they decided on no half measures. Large credits were demanded; a corps of 16,000 was at once despatched to Tonkin; whole squadrons of river launches strengthened the Admiral's fleet; the challenge thrown down by China was promptly taken up, and the towns of Bac-Ninh and Sontay garrisoned by troops of the Celestial Empire, the capture of which, the French were warned, would be considered a *casus belli*, were stormed, and after a succession of engagements, in which Western tactics shone conspicuous, the subjugation of the delta was complete.

A treaty was then entered into with China, in which the Tsong-li-Yamen recognized the French protectorate over the whole kingdom of Annam, France on her part guaranteeing to defend the southern provinces of China from invasion by any European Power. This clause was evidently directed against England. To divert from us the commerce of these southern provinces, France embarked on a long and costly war; and in order to engender suspicions of our designs on the Celestial Empire, the French Ambassador, M. Fournier, inserted a clause in the Treaty which brought the operations to a close which was in every respect unjustifiable. The Treaty of Tientsin of 1884 was followed up by a solemn ratification of the covenant between the King of Hué and the President of the Republic, and, at a solemn audience in the King's palace, the seal entrusted to the Sovereigns of Annam by the Empire of China, was formally handed over to the French General, in token of the complete submission to France of kings who for 2,000 years have been fiefs of Pekin.

In dealing, then, with the kingdom of Annam, we are justified by recent events in dealing with it as a French colony. Though as yet French protection only has been announced over the northern provinces, Residents have been appointed at Hué

and Hanoi—Residents subordinate to the Governor-General of Saigon; and it is evident that the King of Annam is king only in name. Already an army of occupation is being organized by the enlistment of natives of the soil, and in a few short years we shall doubtless see the whole kingdom administered by a Governor at Hué, with subordinate officials at Saigon and Hanoi.

Topography.—The kingdom of Annam, at the commencement of the century, stretched along the eastern shores of the great peninsula of Further India, its southern boundaries being marked by the *débouchures* of the River Mekong into the Gulf of Siam, its northern by the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi; the kingdoms of Cambodia, Siam, and Burmah, also tributaries of the Celestial Empire, lay contiguous to its western frontier, while on the east it was washed by the waters of the China seas.

The thirty-one provinces of the kingdom were grouped in three distinct divisions:—

I. The Southern, or Cochin-China, consisted of the six provinces of Saigon, Brien Hoa, Mytho, Kulong, Chandoc, and Hatien; of these, the first three were conquered by the French in 1862, the remaining three were ceded to her in 1867. The capital town of this division is Saigon.

II. The Central Division, now known as Annam, comprised the twelve provinces of Binh-Thuan, Khan Hoa, Phu-Yen, Bin Dinh, Quang Ngai, Quang Nam, Quang Duc, Quang Tai, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Ngeau, and Tau Hoa. The treaty forced down the throat of the young King after the bombardment and occupation of Hué by Admiral Courbet in 1883, placed these provinces under French protection.

III. The Northern Division, or Tonkin, is the most important of the three, because, stretching away to the north-west, it runs contiguous to the fertile southern provinces of China, where for centuries close commercial relations have existed by means of

the waters of the Red River, a noble stream, navigable by vessels of light draught as far as Laokai, on the Chinese frontier. Tonkin comprises the thirteen provinces of Caoban, Langson, Thai Nguyen, Tuyen Quang, Quangyen, Hung Hoa, Bac-Ninh, Sontay, Hanoi, Haid-Tuong, Hung Yen, Nam Dinh, and Ninh Binh.

To these we must now add the kingdom of Cambodia, which, by a treaty entered into in 1863 between King Phura Norodom and Admiral Grandière, declared itself under French protection. In 1884, by a second treaty, the administration of the kingdom was handed over to the Governor of Saigon, the departments of Finance, Justice, Public Works, Customs, and the Army being placed under the control of French functionaries, the King, we believe, being granted a Civil List of £54,000 a year.

The area of these four divisions embraces in round numbers about 115,000 square miles, and is populated, according to recent estimates, by about twenty million souls.

We thus find French influence extending over the whole eastern portion of the peninsula. The grand watercourse of the Mekong and Red River are entirely in their possession, together with all the harbours along the coast—not a few in number, and many capable of accommodating large fleets.

Population.—No accurate statistics are available as to the population of the countries of Annam and Tonkin, which have so recently been brought under French rule; but as regards Cochin-China proper and Cambodia more can be said, though even in this province, which for two-and-twenty years has been administered by the French, the particulars on this head are few and scarce.

Cochin-China contained 1,550,497 inhabitants at the census of 1881, this number being composed as follows:—

French Officials	1,825
Other Europeans	139
Natives	1,483,506
Other Asiatics	64,027

Its principal cities are Saigon, with a population of—

Europeans	1,056
Natives	14,028
	15,084

and Cholen, population—

Europeans	72
Natives	20,047
Chinese	19,181
	39,300

Hué, the capital of Annam, and Hanoi, the chief city of Tonkin, each contain in round numbers 100,000 souls.

The population of Cambodia, according to native statistics communicated to the French officials in 1874, amounted to—

Cambodians proper			773,511
Foreigners—Chinese		106,764	
„	Malays	26,600	
„	Annamites	4,451	
„	Other Races	4,628	
			142,443
	Total		915,954

Government and Administration.—The four provinces of Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin are necessarily administered in diverse ways. The two former are subordinated to the Governor of Saigon, and the two latter nominally to the King of Annam, aided by the Resident at Hué. As the treaty by which Cambodia has been placed under the Saigon authorities has only recently received the ratification of the President of the Republic, details as to its proposed administration are still wanting but it may be assumed that the heads of the various departments of Cambodia will, in conjunction with the Governor of Saigon, be called upon to form the usual administrative assemblies which exist in the neighbouring colony, and that in view of the increased importance of the colony, the solitary Deputy who now represents Cochin-China

will be replaced in the Houses of Representatives by a Senator and two Deputies, elected by the four provinces.

Up to the present, Cochin-China has been under the domination of a Governor, assisted by French officials at the heads of the various departments. These gentlemen, aided by two colonists, one named by the Governor, one by the electors, forming as occasion demanded a Conseil Général, Conseil Privé, Conseil Contentieux, and a Conseil Colonial; this last assembly being composed of sixteen members, six being French-born citizens, six Asiatics, also enjoying civic rights, two official members, and two members nominated by the Chamber of Commerce.

The towns of Saigon and Cholen are endowed with municipal institutions on the French model. The council of the former town comprises twelve members, eight being French-born, the remainder Asiatics: that of Cholen consists of seven members, three French-born, four being Annamites. In the former town, where the majority of the council are Europeans, the Mayor and his adjoints are elected by the Municipal Councillors; but in Cholen, in order to obviate the unpleasantness of a native sitting in the Presidential Chair, the Governor of the colony has the privilege of nominating a President, the appointment holding good for three years.

In all other towns of Cochin-China, and throughout the provinces of Annam and Tonkin, the old system of government holds good. Villages are grouped into districts, and districts into provinces, each of which is ruled over by a Governor or Tongdoc, the Lieutenant-Governors of districts being styled Tuan Phu. The villagers themselves are ruled over by municipal councils, the members of which are elected by the suffrage of all male inhabitants who have attained the age of twenty-one years. These councils have power to levy rates and taxes, and are required to disburse certain sums on the maintenance of public highways, canals, &c. They also keep the village rolls, and furnish a certain number of men annually to the standing army. In fact, Annam, as regards her internal administration, is not far behind France, and there is such a striking similarity between the institutions of the two coun-

tries, that it is improbable that, for the present at any rate, any sweeping changes will be made in the system of village communities.

In 1873, on the initiation of Admiral Pothau, a special service was created for the purpose of supplying trained officials, conversant alike with the native languages and with French laws, to fill the various executive and administrative appointments in Cochin-China. These posts, on the first annexation of the colony, were filled by officers of the French Marine—much as our civil appointments in newly-annexed provinces in India have usually been filled, and worthily filled, by military men. Some of the most able administrators in Cochin-China have been drawn from the various branches of the navy. Garnier, who perished so nobly in Tonkin, was an executive officer, so likewise was Philastre, whilst M. Harmand, the late Civil Commissioner in that country, was a medical man.

Admiral Pothau, however, conceived it preferable for many reasons to organize a regularly constituted Civil Service for the colony. There were obvious objections to withdrawing young and rising men from their legitimate profession and placing them in positions of great responsibility, for which they possessed no special training, and in which it was possible they might show no aptitude. It by no means followed that a smart *ensigne de vaisseau* could administer a district. Further, some discontent was exhibited by the natives, who had loyally co-operated with the French in the administration of the province on annexation, in seeing all executive posts withdrawn from their hands. It was clear that the colony could be more economically administered if all minor officials were natives, supervision only being entrusted to Frenchmen. With a view, then, of providing a sufficient supply of natives trained to the work, a college was opened at Saigon in the year 1874, where young Annamite gentlemen were instructed in those branches of education which might be useful to them in the public service. The French, Chinese, Annamite, and Cambodian languages were taught, as were also the principles of French administration, finance, and law. A searching examination was instituted, on passing which the youths received appointments

in the various departments of the Civil Service, and on the completion of twelve years' service they were entitled to a bonus on retirement.

The recent annexation of Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin will necessitate a very large addition to the *personnel* of the province, and an impetus will naturally be given, not only to the influx of native gentlemen to the college at Saigon, but to the study of the dialects of the Peninsula of Further India amongst the youths of France.

Justice.—Judicial courts exist as in the other colonies, and the inhabitants have been made subject to the various Codes which rule the Criminal and Civil procedure in France.

A Court of Appeal is located in Saigon, and Tribunals for the disposal of Civil, Commercial, and Criminal cases at Saigon, Binh Hoa, Mytho, Bentré, Vinh Long, Chandoc, Soc-trang, and Priom Penh, fifty-six paid officials forming the staff of these establishments.

Education.—The population of the country being chiefly Annamites, and the French language never being heard except in the counting-houses of the few merchants of that country, and in the official bureaux, the system of education naturally differs very materially from that in vogue in other colonies.

In the primary schools, 443 in number, which give instruction to 13,172 boys and 127 girls, the Annamite language, and in some cases the elements of French, are taught. At Saigon, Cholen, Binh Hoa, Mytho, Bentré, Vinh Long, and Chandoc more advanced schools exist, where 1,062 pupils receive instruction in French, arithmetic, and geography, and such of them as desire to proceed still further in their education are permitted to attend the colleges of Saigon and Mytho, where, during the year 1882, 279 pupils were received free of charge.

In addition to these establishments, which are conducted under the auspices of the Department of Public Instruction, there are in Cochin-China 414 village schools, where 6,608 pupils receive a rudimentary education, and sixty-four mission schools, under the supervision of the Frères of the Saint Esprit, where 1,893 boys and 1,545 girls are gratuitously educated.

Compulsory education has for centuries been insisted on in

Annam, so that the efforts of the French are now only directed towards the spread of their own language and literature, in a country which hitherto has looked upon China and things Chinese as the acme of civilization.

Religion.—The religion of the people is that of Confucius; for centuries the population have shown themselves bitterly hostile to the propagation of the Christian faith, and that hostility has not been diminished by the recent action of the French Government, which, by suppressing the subventions hitherto accorded to priests in distant towns, and granting only the most paltry aid towards the ecclesiastics in Saigon, has shown the inhabitants that it, too, can persecute the followers of Christ, and that it lacks the commonest gratitude to those through whose self-denying zeal and gallant fortitude France owes the richest and most prosperous colony she now possesses.

Public Works.—The efforts of the French to develop the resources of the country by the construction of reproductive public works have not been so marked as their efforts to construct the cities of Saigon and Cholen on a scale which rivals Calcutta or Bombay. The Government House and cathedral at the former place have been built with a due regard to effect and an absolute forgetfulness of economy. Streets have been marked out, public offices and barracks erected, and a tramway constructed between Saigon and Cholen. Concessions have been granted for a railway between the capital and Mytho, with an eventual prolongation to Vinh-long, and the surveys for this line are actually completed.

The Local Budget annually provides £240,000 towards the Department of Public Works; but a large proportion of this sum is swallowed up in the army of officials who are employed in surveying the country for new outlets for expenditure.

Agriculture and Commerce.—Situated under a tropical sun, the kingdom of Annam is absolutely unsuited for European emigration, yet, blind to this fact, the French Government continue to offer inducements to the unwary settler in the shape of free tracts of land, and free passages to the land of promise.

During the first twenty years of the French occupation of Cochin-China, the total amount of land taken up by immigrants amounted to 300 acres free, and 752 by sale, a result scarcely in accordance with the opinion expressed by M. Ferry, that the annexation of Tonkin was necessary in order to provide new homes for fathers of families.

Of the area under cultivation in Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin we have no record, but in Cochin-China proper the following statistics are attainable:—

Rice	1,305,100 acres
Sugar	11,000 „
Betel Nut	5,330 „
Mulberry-trees	8,358 „
Cabbage Palms	63,657 „
Cocoa-nut Plantations	19,200 „
Fruit	5,062 „
Palm-nuts	25,120 „
Tobacco	5,453 „
Cotton	928 „
Domestic Cultivation	97,560 „
	1,546,768 „

In all about a million and a half acres under cultivation. Domestic agriculture, so necessary for the alimentation of the garrisons and European inhabitants, has received encouragement by the institution of Botanical Gardens at Saigon, and by prizes which are annually offered by the Local Government, and by the various Municipal authorities at the meetings of Horticultural Societies recently instituted in many of the Communes.

Cochin-China is essentially a rice-producing country, as the statistics of cultivable area and of exports shows; but other objects are, in limited quantities, despatched from her ports; the skins of tigers, tusks of elephants, attest the attractions of the country to the sportsman, whilst the sugar, pepper, spices, coffee, and cotton, the cultivation of which is increasing yearly, show that, with care, the peninsula of Further India may

answer the expectations formed of it by Pigneau de Behaine and Garnier.

The following summary of imports and exports for the last five years, for which returns are available, shows how steadily trade has been increasing; but the statistics also show that the carrying trade of the colony is in the hands of the Germans and the English, and that but four per cent. of the vessels which enter the harbours of the French dependency fly the Republican flag.

	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.
Imports .	£1,517,920	1,386,830	1,306,830	1,384,254	1,660,452
Exports .	1,897,588	2,116,279	1,656,406	1,764,978	2,126,235

France is by no means favoured in the matter of trade by its youngest colony, for in the year 1882 we find:—

	Imports.	Exports.
To or from France . .	£202,836	£56,706
Elsewhere	1,457,616	2,069,529
	£1,660,452	£2,126,235

Of the imports from France, a very large proportion consisted of articles for the use and subsistence of the troops, of munitions of war, or material for the construction of public works—in fact, Government goods. Of the exports, which have now reached the respectable total of two million one hundred thousand pounds, rice formed the major portion, upwards of one and a half million pounds worth of that commodity having been exported. Here again we find France and the French colonies aiding but little in the commercial development of Cochin-China; the total value of rice sent to French possessions amounting only to £1,749, whilst the British colony of Hong Kong imported £1,248,260.

Finances.—The receipts of the Local Budget fall far short of the requirements of the colony, the principal items being—

LOCAL BUDGET.

Land Tax	£104,000	
Poll Tax	48,000	
Licence Tax	24,000	
Poll Tax on Asiatic Immigrants	48,000	
Sale of Lands and Timber	16,000	
Duty on Sale of Opium	280,000	
Duty on Spirits	48,000	
Custom Dues on Imports and Exports	180,000	
Miscellaneous Revenue	52,000	
		800,000
*Budget of Minister of Marine		474,118
		£1,274,118

* Details of this sum will be found in Appendix No. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

MARTINIQUE.

Early French Occupation and Foundation of the Colony—British Expedition against it in 1759—Capture of the Island in 1762, and Restoration by Terms of Treaty of Paris—De Bouillé's Expedition against the British West India Islands—Capture of Martinique in 1794—Restored by Treaty of Amiens—Retaken in 1809, and again Restored by Treaty of Paris, 1814—Population—Government and Administration — Justice — Education — Clergy — Public Works—Cultivation — Commerce — Finances — Taxation — Garrison and Defences.

MARTINIQUE, with the other islands now designated as the French Antilles, was discovered in 1493 by Christopher Columbus. No efforts appear to have been made by the Spaniards to found an establishment in the Caribbean Sea, and it remained unvisited, or at any rate unoccupied, by Europeans until the year 1635, when M. d'Esnambuc, the wealthy merchant explorer of Dieppe, and founder of "La Compagnie des îles de Saint Christophe, de la Barbade, et autres à l'entrée du Perou," in virtue of the concession granted him by Richelieu, took possession of the island. Thus was formed the French colony of the Antilles, a colony founded on royal patronage, and which by virtue of its charter reduced to quasi-slavery, for a fixed period, all Europeans who joined the enterprise. On the other hand, it received many commercial privileges, amongst them being the abolition of all customs duties on its produce when entering France. This alone should have insured success. In their endeavour to make haste to get rich, the founders of the company cultivated only what they could export, and ere long they were almost driven to starvation, so absolutely had they neglected ordinary agriculture. By chance some Dutch

merchants, learning of their straits, put into Martinique with live stock and fresh vegetables, and thus in defiance of the charter which forbad commercial communication with other countries, a trade sprang up with Holland. Though this was to the advantage of the colony, it deprived the sovereign of his tithe of the produce of the island, and a Royal edict was thundered forth, forbidding "all those who leave our shores for any destination whatever, whether it may be to the East Indies, or to the island of St. Christopher, or to the neighbouring islands, to purchase, trade in, or to carry away tobacco, annatto, and cotton, the products of those islands, without the express sanction and consent, given in writing by the Directors of the Companies holding charters from the Crown, and on the account of the said companies, under pain of a fine of a thousand pounds, and the confiscation of their ships, of the tobacco, annatto, and cotton, or other merchandise, carried in their vessels, and of all their goods and chattels." Stringent as these rules were, they were constantly evaded, and Holland, more than France, grew enriched by the produce of the Antilles. Other laws, no less restrictive in their provisions, were enforced. All colonists were to be of the Catholic faith, and large subventions were accorded for the conversion of the Caribbees. The success of the missionaries not being as rapidly accomplished as His Most Christian Majesty desired, large numbers of the unfortunate natives were put to the sword, and soon a war, envenomed by religious and race distinctions, was waged with pitiless severity between black and white. This warfare lent a charm to the colonial life, and numbers of cadets of good families now joined the ranks of d'Esnambuc's forces; indeed, so popular did his command become, that in 1642 he numbered 7,000 emigrants, instead of 4,000 as allowed by the charter. A large number of Jesuit priests lent the religious element to the colony, and these men were, perhaps, the most valuable of all the émigrés, as they supplied the basis of the more learned professions, acted as doctors, engineers, and architects, whilst the young nobles flocked to the ranks of the army, and the artisans and labourers aided in the progress and development of the plantations. Foreigners were inter-

dicted from pursuing any profession or calling on the island, and this, coupled with the exclusion of all who did not profess the Catholic faith, tended to mar the prosperity of the settlement. Colbert made an effort to remove these restrictions, and so far succeeded that he at last obtained the Royal sanction to the settlement, in Martinique, of the Calvinists, driven from France by the Edict of Nantes; but the reception of these emigrants was not such as to encourage others to follow their example.

During the many wars which were waged in the seventeenth century between France and England, the harbour of Martinique gave shelter to buccaneers and pirates, who preyed upon our commerce and ruined our West Indian trade; reprisals followed, and the island was brought almost to the brink of ruin. Buccaneering, however, thrived, and in 1759 it was determined to stamp out the nest of sea-robbers who infested the island, and who were supported by considerable bodies of regular French troops, as well as by the money of the wealthier planters. The island was now a French colony, the old Company of the Marquis d'Esnambuc had been succeeded by, "La Compagnie des Indes Occidentales," this in its turn had been swept away, and Martinique was now governed by officials named by the King, garrisoned by his troops, and guarded by his Fleet. The expedition of 1759, undertaken by the British Government against Martinique, was one that redounded little to the credit of the officers concerned. It is one amongst the many instances afforded by a study of English history, of the futility of attempting military enterprises under joint commands.

In November, 1758, a squadron of six sail-of-the-line, convoying sixty transports, left Spithead and Plymouth under sealed orders. It was, however, well known that the West Indies was its destination, and that the six regiments of foot embarked on the merchantmen, were intended for the subjugation of the French colonies of Martinique and Guadaloupe.

On reaching Barbadoes, the force was further strengthened by a fleet of ten line-of-battle ships, six frigates and some smaller craft, as well as by a considerable body of troops from

North America. The total strength of the land forces, which were under the command of Lieutenant-General Hobson, was about 6,000 men, and the combined squadrons, under Commodore Moore, reached the respectable total of eighteen sail-of-the-line, and eight frigates.

On the 13th January, 1759, the fleet sailed from Barbadoes, and the following morning sighted Martinique, the first objective of the expedition. Batteries at Point des Nègres and at Case des Navires were silenced without loss; some Blue-jackets and Marines being landed, these works were occupied, the garrison evacuating them so rapidly that the guns were not even spiked. With these in possession of the British, an easy victory over the French was anticipated, and the troops looked eagerly forward to a brush which should relieve them from the stigmas which the many unsuccessful descents on the coasts of France had cast on our arms.

Under cover of the ships' guns, the land forces were disembarked without any opposition, and General Hobson at once advanced on Fort Royal, the principal fortification of the island. The brigade under General Barrington made a wide detour and seized the Morne Tartançon, a ridge completely commanding the fort. From this he sent word to Hobson that the capture of the works was one of no difficulty, and that if a couple of ships' guns were sent him, with which to breach the gates, he could carry Fort Royal with the troops at his own disposal. From the low ground occupied by Hobson the task seemed one of greater magnitude, and he ordered Barrington to delay operations until some heavy guns had been landed, for at the first disembarkation the troops had been landed without artillery. In the meantime the French Commander, imbued with the panic which had seized the garrison of his outlying works, called a council of war, and actually proposed to surrender without making even a show of resistance, thinking that by this means he would secure easy terms. It is true that his position seemed desperate; all communication between him and the mother country, or even with the neighbouring colonies, was cut off by Commodere Moore's squadron. On shore, the heights dominating his fort were held by a strong force of

British troops, whilst to the west lay a couple of English brigades, preparing to attack. Resistance in such a case seemed hopeless, but it was ever in such hopeless cases that the valour of the old Royalist officers showed itself. The Commander was overruled, and a young officer named du Couëdac, a member of a Breton family which has given to France some of her noblest heroes, received permission to head a sortie against Barrington's troops. A sharp engagement ensued in which, though the French were driven in to Fort Royal, we sustained some casualties, including two officers killed.

Now commenced an unseemly altercation between the military and naval Commanders, which resulted in the Commodore not only refusing to land the ships' guns, but declining to afford any assistance towards the reduction of the fort by the light ships of his squadron; these might have stood in within cannon shot, and aided the troops very materially, by keeping under the artillery fire of the fort, preparatory to an assault being delivered. The obstinate refusal of the Admiral to lend any guns, and the apprehensions of Hobson that an assault, unprepared by artillery fire, must result in failure, ended as any such expedition must end, where divided counsels exist—in failure. At 7 P.M. to the astonishment and surprise of the French, who were actually preparing to surrender, the British troops re-embarked and set sail for Guadaloupe, before which they arrived on the 23rd January, and against which offensive operations were at once commenced.

For some reason, for more than four years no further steps were taken to reduce Martinique. With Guadaloupe in our hands, and a strong squadron well provided with numerous ports for refit, its possession was of little moment, and the vigilance of our cruisers prevented any of its wealth filtering through our hands to France. England had put forth her strength in the East Indies and North America, in regions where French enterprise might check our growing colonies, and it was not until France had been overcome on these two continents that our Government cast about how best they might further harass our crippled enemy.

Martinique stood out a tempting prize, its warehouses were

filled to overflowing with the surplus produce of the past year, its garrisons were small, its fortifications by no means formidable, and the theatre of operations was, or ought to have been, well known, owing to the ground having been traversed in Hobson's expedition in 1759. It was determined, therefore, to make one more attempt to wrest from France all her possessions in the West Indies. To this end a strong force assembled at the Barbadoes, the chief command being entrusted to General Monkton, whilst the naval operations were under the direction of Admiral Rodney. The state of affairs in North America now permitted a withdrawal of a portion of the troops hitherto operating in that country, and this force, with detachments from Belle Isle and the Leeward Islands, brought up the total strength at Monkton's disposal to 12,000 men.

On the 7th of January, 1762, the expedition arrived off Martinique, but here again the evils of divided commands were seen. No fixed plan had been decided on prior to the sailing of the armament, and, on sighting the island, the General and Admiral found themselves at variance as to the means to be employed to ensure its reduction. More than ten days were wasted in reconnoitring the coasts and shore defences, but on the 16th the fleet, with comparative ease, silenced the batteries at Case des Navires, and thus enabled the troops to land. Works were at once thrown up for the protection of the men, and reconnaissances undertaken in the directions of Fort Royal and Saint Pierre.

The reduction of Fort Royal was first determined on, but it was found that the Morne Tartançon, and Mount Garnier, two eminences which commanded the citadel, and which in the previous expedition had been seized without loss, had since 1759 been strongly fortified. The approaches to these hills were rugged and precipitous, and little suited for the movements of the ships' guns, the only artillery with which the force was provided. Nevertheless, General Monkton felt that until these outworks were in our hands it was idle to attempt the capture of the town. A week was spent in constructing roads to points within range of Morne Tartançon, and on the 24th the position was gallantly carried by a division under the command of

General Grant. The following day, batteries were erected on the captured ground, and preparations commenced for the bombardment of the citadel. But the fire from Fort Garnier interfered with the progress of these works; and although General Monkton had hoped that he could have dispensed with the costly enterprise of an assault on Fort Garnier, the conduct of the French left him no alternative. On the 27th, the French garrison sallied out of the fort and drove in the working parties on the Tartançon. The trench guards, however, rallied and held them in check until General Haviland, at once getting the nearest troops under arms (these happened to be Lord Murray's, and another battalion of Highlanders), converted a defensive into an offensive action, and pressing back the French, step by step, followed them into Fort Garnier, which, with its vast stores and munitions of war, ere nightfall had passed into our possession. All the heights commanding the town were now held by the English, and the troops at once commenced to construct fresh batteries within closer range of the citadel. This assertion of our strength had the desired effect, and, on the 4th of February, 1762, Fort Royal surrendered to the British.

Leaving a strong garrison there, General Monkton prepared to transfer the scene of operations to Saint Pierre, the capital of Martinique; but the civil population, conscious of the terrible ravages which a prolongation of the campaign would necessarily entail on the island, and mindful of the prosperity their sister island, Guadaloupe, was now enjoying under the mild rule of the British, insisted on the Governor abstaining from all further opposition to the British. Before Monkton's force had reached St. Pierre overtures were made by the French Commander, and on the 10th of February, 1762, the whole island was formally surrendered to the British; our losses in the total operations having amounted to 96 killed, and 389 wounded. Rodney's fleet now proceeded to Grenada and St. Lucia, which were given up without resistance.

On the 3rd of November, 1762, the Seven Years' War was brought to a close, and, by the Treaty of Hubertsberg, Martinique, after barely twelve months' occupation by the British, was retroceded to its original owners.

During the War of Independence, Martinique was made the head-quarters of the French operations against our West India possessions. Struggling with our own rebellious child, waging a war which necessitated the mightiest exertions on our part, in order to hold our own on the continent of America, England was unable to do more than afford scant assistance to the islands in the Western Atlantic, and realized the folly which had prompted the cession of Martinique in 1763.

Fifteen years after it had passed back into French hands, the Marquis de Bouillé led from its harbour an expedition of 20,000 men, destined for the conquest of St. Domingo, St. Vincent, and Grenada. The gallantry of Meadows and the 5th Fusiliers saved the former island, and de Bouillé was forced to draw off, leaving 500 unwounded and 1,100 wounded prisoners in the hands of the British. Unfortunately, St. Lucia and Grenada were under the command of men not endowed with the heroism of General Meadows; in the former island seven companies of the 60th surrendered without firing a shot, and in the latter Lord Macartney, with a garrison of but 150 men of the 48th Foot and 500 Militia, found himself opposed to twenty-five line of battle ships, ten frigates, and a force of 12,000 regular troops. Having sustained a bombardment at the hands of the fleet for three days, he felt himself compelled, from motives of humanity, to haul down the British flag, on the landing of 3,000 troops under Count Dillon. This was not an isolated case of the danger resulting from the restoration of the island to the French. In 1782, the Comte de Grasse, making Martinique his rendezvous, issued with an enormous armament, hoping to overwhelm our remaining West India possessions. The French fleet consisted of one vessel of 110 guns, six of 80, twenty-three 74's, four 64's, and a couple of frigates, and embarked on board these were 15,000 sailors under the gallant Marquis de Bouillé. The expedition was originally intended for the reduction of the Barbadoes, but the presence off that island of Sir Samuel Hood with eighteen sail-of-the-line, and four frigates, induced de Grasse to make sail for St. Kitts, and he succeeded in throwing de Bouillé into that island with 8,000 men before Hood could interrupt the operation. The British Admiral, however, though opposed to a

vastly superior force, did his utmost to raise the siege de Bouillé was prosecuting, and, with characteristic valour, offered battle to de Grasse. A series of sanguinary engagements ensued, which resulted in the French fleet being compelled to withdraw. Hood now attempted to raise the siege, landing detachments of the 13th, 28th, and 69th regiments, which happened to be serving on his ships in the character of marines, and an effort was made by this small force to open up communication with the garrison. The French were, however, too strong, and as it was impossible to weaken the garrisons of our remaining islands any further without leaving them an easy prey to de Grasse, Hood was under the painful necessity of withdrawing from St. Kitts without achieving its relief. On the 10th of February, 1782, the little force, only numbering 600 men, surrendered, and de Bouillé, his road now being clear, despatched a force under the Comte de Barras to Nevis and Montserrat. These islands were in no condition to resist the large bodies of troops poured into them, and by the end of February the whole of our West Indian possessions, except Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, had passed into the hands of the French.

There is no doubt the humiliation of these defeats would never have been incurred had the Government of Great Britain stood firm at the close of the Seven Years' War, and declined to accede to the retrocession of Martinique to the French. It was the harbour of this island that de Bouillé and de Grasse used as a base of operations against our possessions, and it was in the harbours of this island that the corsairs which preyed upon our commerce found their surest shelter.

During the whole War of Independence we have numerous instances of the refuge afforded to the French fleets by the harbours of Martinique, and of the difficulty Rodney and others had in enticing them out from such a secure resting-place. The magnitude of our operations in North America and elsewhere quite precluded the possibility of any troops being available for the reduction of the French West India islands, and without troops it was useless to attempt operations against them. Our Admirals, therefore, contented themselves with keeping a close watch on the harbours with their frigates,

capturing such merchantmen and cruisers as endeavoured to escape to European waters, and bringing on, whenever practible, general engagements with the French fleets.

From the Peace of Versailles of 1783 to the outbreak of the Revolution, Martinique enjoyed peace and prosperity; but the injudicious proclamations of the Convention, enjoining universal brotherhood, led to vigorous strivings for freedom on the part of the slaves, and to stern reprisals on the part of the owners. Plantations burnt, towns sacked, districts depopulated, women outraged, such were the initial results of the "declaration of freedom," and in a few months Martinique had descended at a bound from the zenith of prosperity to the depths of anarchy. It was once more the turn of England to step in and wrest from France the island which had so easily fallen into our hands in 1762, and which had been the cause of so much annoyance to us during the last war. In 1794 England, finding that France, owing to the necessity of massing her forces on the Rhine to keep her frontier inviolate, was unable to spare any troops to strengthen the garrison of her distant possessions, determined to regain possession, not only of the colonial possessions which had been wrested from her during the late war, and which had been, by the Peace of Versailles, confirmed to the French, but also to seize the whole of the West India islands now belonging to the Republic.

Accordingly in March, 1794, an expedition, under the joint command of Admiral Sir John Jervis and General Sir Charles Grey, proceeded to Martinique. The fleet, standing in to Fort Royal harbour, opened a heavy fire on the works defending it, and, under cover of this bombardment, four battalions under Colonel Symes were landed to take the forts in flank. Jealous of his own profession, and fearful that the honour of the assault would fall to the soldiers, Captain Faulkner, of the *Zebra* sloop, stood close in shore, and, landing at the head of his Blue-jackets and Marines, succeeded in carrying one of the principal batteries without help; turning the guns on the neighbouring forts, he was enabled, by a heavy flanking fire, to materially aid the further operations, and by nightfall on the 20th of March, the town was in our possession. The Governor, M. de Rocham-

beau, at once sent in a parlementaire to open up negotiations for a capitulation, and on the 1st of April, all details having been arranged, the British flag was hoisted over the whole island, and the garrison sent as prisoners of war to Jamaica, Sir Charles Grey proceeding onwards to capture St. Lucia and Guadaloupe. Profiting by the lesson taught us by the French in the previous war, our Government now made Martinique the head-quarters of a considerable military force, strong enough, should circumstances arise, to afford help to the neighbouring isles. Lord Dalhousie was appointed Governor, and he at once busied himself in strengthening the existing, and constructing new works. The wisdom of these measures was soon apparent. Early in the following year the Republican Commissary, Victor Hugues, commenced his gallant and well-conceived efforts to reconquer the French West India islands. St. Eustatia was captured by Hugues without difficulty, but owing to the timely reinforcements sent from Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent were, after a desperate struggle, freed from the Republican troops. Not satisfied with this ill-success, Victor Hugues, in June 1794, landed a force on Martinique itself; a sharp struggle took place, in which Lord Dalhousie himself was badly wounded: it resulted, however, in the complete defeat of the French, Hugues being compelled to re-embark. When one considers the smallness of the force at Victor Hugues' disposal—not more than 500 men at the most—and that Dalhousie had the 46th, 48th, 54th, 59th, and 60th regiments under his command, it is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration for the heroic leader who waged such a gallant struggle against such fearful odds.

No further efforts were made by the French to gain possession of the island, and our flag flew peacefully over it until, by the terms of the Peace of Amiens, we once more, with ill-conceived generosity, handed over Martinique to Bonaparte's envoys. Once more it became necessary, in defence of our own commerce, to take measures for its re-capture. Its harbours were the home of hordes of daring corsairs, and the port of shelter for France's finest fleets.

The renewal of the war in 1804, after the short truce afforded

by the Peace of Amiens, once more brought home to our naval Commanders in the West Indies the value of Martinique as a *point d'appui* for a colonial war. The harbour of Fort Royal, strengthened as it now was, frowned defiance to any force we could in the early days of the war send against it, and our Admirals were powerless to do much more than institute as effectual a blockade as might be of the island. This duty was entrusted to Sir Samuel Hood, and he, noticing the frequency with which vessels escaped his cruisers, by keeping inside an uninhabited and generally considered inaccessible rock, determined to convert this into a fixed British station. The Diamond Rock lies about a mile south-west of Fort Royal; it is an isolated, precipitous island, about a mile in circumference, and 600 feet in height; in fine weather only is a landing ever practicable; the sides of the cliffs are so scarped, and the rocks so destitute of vegetation, that no attempts had ever been made to occupy it. Hood, however, was not to be daunted; he saw the value of the island, and in January, 1804, by dint of almost superhuman exertions, and taking advantage of a spell of fine weather, he contrived to land five of the heaviest guns carried by his flag-ship, and his Blue-jackets, rigging up tackles, hoisted two 18-pounders to the very summit of the cliffs. A lower battery, about 100 feet above sea-level, being manned with long 24-pounders; a depôt of provisions was formed, tanks cut in the solid rock for a supply of fresh water, and a garrison of 120 men, under Lieutenant Maurice of the *Centaur*, was landed, so that by the end of January, 1804, the Diamond Rock had been converted into a very formidable redoubt. Being out of range of the island, and the upper batteries being at such an elevation that the fire of ship's guns could not reach them, the crew (for the Diamond Rock was rated as a sloop-of-war), were comparatively free from danger, whilst they very materially aided Hood in his blockade of the island, and contributed very effectively in the capture of a large number of craft. The sight of the British flag flying at their very gates was gall and wormwood to the French, and Bonaparte himself sent peremptory orders to the Governor of Martinique to capture the Rock at all hazards. Many attempts were made by the garrison,

but all were unavailing, until in May, 1805, Villeneuve, with the main body of the French fleet, consisting of twenty sail-of-the-line and four frigates, ran into Martinique in order to effect a junction with Gautheaume's fleet from Brest when, conjointly, these two Admirals were to proceed to the English Channel and cover Napoleon's invasion of Great Britain. In passing the Diamond Rock, Villeneuve had been subjected to a very heavy fire, and had sustained considerable damage from the five guns under Maurice's command. He was powerless to reply at the moment, as his vessels were in urgent need of refit; nevertheless, he determined, during his enforced stay at Martinique, to capture the Rock. Accordingly, on the 29th of May, two line-of-battle ships, a frigate, eleven gunboats, and 1,500 troops of the line, under Commodore de Cosmao, sailed out of Fort Royal harbour, and anchored within range of the Diamond. A heavy fire was kept up with spirit until nightfall, when a strong landing party of French soldiers succeeded in effecting a foothold on the base of the rock; but, in spite of the appearance of two battalions within a couple of hundred yards of his battery, Maurice still held out, and it was not until the 31st of May, when his last cartridge was expended and his last drop of water drunk, that the gallant young lieutenant hove his guns into the sea, and threw out a flag of truce. On the following morning the terms of capitulation were arranged, and Maurice, with a loss of two men killed and one wounded, had the satisfaction of feeling that for three days he had held at bay a force incomparably superior to his own, had inflicted on the French a loss far exceeding the total effective strength of his little garrison, and had not surrendered until all means of defence were at an end, and starvation stared his garrison in the face.

In January, 1809, another effort, and this one more successful than the last, was made to place Martinique under British supremacy. In January of that year an expedition, consisting of twenty-eight ships of war, of which eight were line-of-battle ships, under Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, with transports conveying 10,000 troops, under Lieutenant-General Beckwith, assembled in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, and on the 28th of that month the armament made sail for Martinique.

The French garrison of that island consisted only of three battalions of regular troops, about 3,000 militia, and three vessels of war; but the numerous fortifications were constructed with care, they occupied commanding positions, and mounted 289 guns, so that our preponderance in men was perhaps counterbalanced by their superiority in artillery.

The British forces, divided into two divisions under Generals Prevost and Maitland, landed respectively at Bay Robert and Saint Luce. Meeting with no opposition, the first division moved at once to the Grande Lézard river, whilst the second, marching on Lamentin, dispersed the militia, who there endeavoured to bar their progress, and on the 3rd February opened the siege of Fort Dessaix and captured Pigeon Island. Maitland then advanced to La Costi, and joining hands with Sir George Prevost's force, completed the investment of Fort Royal. On the 9th General Maitland made a diversion with one brigade towards St. Pierre, capturing that town, whilst Colonel McNair, of the 90th Regiment, seeing the disturbance created in the town of Fort Royal by the movements in the British camp, seized on the French hospitals in that place, making over 400 prisoners. In the meantime the operations of the fleet, aided by some troops under Colonel Pakenham, whose name alone was a guarantee of the success of the undertaking, carried the Isle de Ramiers. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, the Governor, now withdrew all his troops to Fort Dessaix, and our men at once invested the place completely. Ships' guns were landed and dragged by the enthusiastic sailors to the commanding heights of Morne Tarançon. This labour was excessive, and, despite the exertions of blue-jackets and redcoats, we were only able on the 19th February to open the bombardment with fourteen 18-pounders and twenty-eight mortars and howitzers. To this fire the enemy replied with 120 cannon. Our bombardment, however, was so effective, that the Governor on the 23rd sent in a flag of truce treating for surrender. He proposed, however, that the French troops should be permitted to proceed to France without any restrictions as to future service; but General Beckwith, deeming these conditions unadvisable, reopened the bombardment at ten the same night, and on the following morning

the majority of the enemy's guns having been dismounted, and their powder magazine blown up, Admiral Villaret again sent in a parlementaire. It was time. The defence of the forts had absolutely ceased. The garrison, powerless against the plunging fire directed at them from the surrounding heights, had taken refuge in the casemates, and though their losses were proportionately smaller, the siege had degenerated into a one-sided affair, in which the only loss we were suffering from was the expenditure of ammunition. The terms of capitulation having been arranged, the French prisoners were transported to England, and the British forces, with the exception of a brigade which General Beckwith retained as a garrison for the conquered island, returned to their respective garrisons. As a compliment to the 90th Light Infantry, which had especially distinguished itself during the operations, the Commander of the Forces selected Captain Preedy of that distinguished regiment to lay at the feet of his Sovereign the three eagles captured in the island, and to bear home the dispatches to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief. Our total casualties throughout the operations did not amount to 200 killed and wounded; but the result was considered so satisfactory, that the thanks of Parliament was voted to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers serving under General Beckwith. The regiments engaged were authorized to bear the word "Martinique" on their colours, and clasps for the expedition were affixed to the war medal.

The inhabitants of Martinique evinced no disaffection at their change of rule, and at the close of the hot season the Governor felt himself able to dispense with the service of a large portion of the troops. A very strong garrison had been retained by Beckwith to overawe any threatened disaffection; but when all fear of a rising was past, the majority of the troops were set free for service elsewhere, and one regiment only kept to garrison the forts. The most perfect quiet reigned in the island whilst it remained in the hands of the British, and its prosperity materially increased. By the Treaty of Paris of 1814 it was retroceded to the French, in whose hands it has remained ever since.

Population.—At the census of 1881 the population of Martinique amounted to 167,181 souls, the principal points worthy of note in this list being—

Government Employés and their Families	2,040
Military Officials and their Families	1,472
	3,512
Coolies—Chinese	495
„ Negroes	6,412
„ East Indians	13,189
	20,096

In Martinique women are more numerous than men, the numbers being 87,849 of the former to 79,332 of the latter; the numbers under fourteen being 18,848 boys and 20,249 girls.

To some the following table may be of interest—

	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.
Marriages	550	573	471	459
Births	5,407	5,591	5,447	5,567
Deaths	4,453	4,593	4,810	5,243

as showing, first, the steadily increasing death-rate; and, secondly, the small esteem in which the marriage state is held by the inhabitants of the island.

Government and Administration.—The administration of the island is confided to a Governor, who has under his orders a number of executive officials directing the various departments; that of education being under the charge of a Vice-Principal of the Home Establishment; that of finance being entrusted to an Accountant-General for one branch, to a Chief of the Treasury for another. An Inspector-General presides over the hospitals, a General of Brigade commands the troops, whilst various civil officials supervise other offices.

On administrative matters of importance the Governor is

assisted by a Supreme Council, which has the power of vetoing his actions or of endorsing them : it consists of the Attorney-General of the Island, the senior Civil Administrative officer, and two of the chief inhabitants, one named by the President of the Republic, one by the Governor. Should any debate arise between the Governor and the Supreme Council, it is either referred for the decision of the Minister of Marine, or, at the option of either disputant, a " Conseil Contentieux " is formed ; this consists of the Supreme Council, strengthened by the two senior magistrates on the island.

All other colonial questions are relegated to the " Conseil Général," which has the same functions as the Conseils Généraux of the French departments: this comprises thirty-six members, elected by the inhabitants, the members selecting from amongst their own number a President, Vice-President and a Secretary.

Martinique is represented in France by a Senator and two Deputies, and a " Commission Coloniale," composed of seven members, has been established, endowed with the same functions as the " Commissions Departmentales " in France.

The question of control over the immigrants has recently, owing to the representations of the British Government, received much attention. A functionary styled " Commissaire d'Immigration " is responsible for their welfare, and he has under his orders a powerful and efficient staff. Immigration services figure in the Budget for no less a sum than £7,476, a considerable item in the local expenditure.

The island is divided into twenty-five Communes ; these are governed on the same principle by which the Local Government of the mother country is carried on. Each one is provided with a Mayor, who is assisted by two or more Adjoints and Municipal Councillors, varying in number according to the strength of the Commune ; they are periodically elected. To these bodies are relegated all local questions which do not require the interference of the Conseil Général. Considerable sums of money are annually received by these Municipal Councils in the shape of local rates and taxes, and the sums thus acquired are mainly expended in local improvements or in the support of charitable

institutions. These twenty-five Communes are grouped in eight Cantons, each of which furnishes one or more members to the Conseil Général of the island, so that in colonial, as well as in merely local questions, every village has a direct and distinct voice.

The following table shows the list of these Communes, with their receipts and expenditure, and the number of members they furnish to the Conseil Général of Martinique:—

—	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Members returned to the Conseil Général.
	Francs.	Francs.	
Fort de France	501,813	496,823	4
Lamentin	107,474	107,474	3
Saint Esprit	45,413	44,277	5
Ducos	34,872	33,932	—
François	76,552	76,137	—
Rivière Salée	30,907	30,907	—
Anse d'Arlets	19,787	18,878	—
Diamant	19,919	17,397	2
Trois Islets	20,583	20,211	—
Sainte Luce	22,880	22,880	—
Marin	37,577	36,954	4
Vanelin	35,120	35,120	—
Sainte Anne	21,173	21,173	—
Rivière Pilote	51,744	50,770	—
Saint Pierre	439,230	439,230	8
Carbet	40,811	40,095	—
Prêcheur	25,155	25,155	—
Case Pilote	39,212	37,677	—
Basse Pointe	44,170	41,216	4
Macouba	19,865	19,341	—
Laurain	58,774	58,774	—
Trinité	60,780	60,580	6
Sainte Marie	53,974	53,974	—
Gros Morne	49,160	39,508	—
Robert	55,723	55,423	—
	2,412,688	1,883,906	36

Thus the total amount raised by Local Municipalities is no less a sum than £96,507 10s. 10d. This sum, added to the various items figuring in the Local Budget, shows what heavy charges are laid on the backs of the people of the island.

Justice.—The judicial system of the island dates back to the year 1664, when Louis XIV., by Royal Letters Patent,

dated 11th October, created a "Conseil Souverain," "in order to judge and determine definitely and as a final Court of Appeal, all processes and cases that may come up for decision." This council was composed of the Captain-General, the Intendant-General, the Lieutenant-Governor, and six of the principal inhabitants, three being named by the King, and three by the Captain-General. It had competence to decide all criminal as well as civil cases, in the more serious processes it was strengthened by the addition of the Procureur-Général of the Island, and of a magistrate named by him.

In 1768 this court was modified by a royal decree, and henceforth it was to be composed of the Captain-General or Governor-General, the Intendant, the officer commanding and the second in command of the troops, the officer commanding the naval ships on the stations, and fourteen councillors elected by the colonists. Thus constituted, the court disposed of administrative and political questions. When civil or criminal cases were brought before it, the Procureur-Général and four avocâts were added to the court. The duties of the "Conseil Souverain" were so wide and extended that in 1778 three local courts were established at Saint Pierre, Fort Royal, and Sainte Luce, in order to relieve the higher functionaries of duties little compatible with their rank.

Matters remained on this footing until September, 1828, when the "Conseil Souverain" now become the "Conseil Général," was relieved of all judicial functions, and it was determined that justice should be administered by courts similar to those in France, viz., by Courts of Appeal, Courts of Assize, Tribunals of the First Instance, and Courts of Juge de Paix. This system has remained in vogue up to the present day with but few alterations; the existing courts in Martinique being—

a. The Court of Appeal; it is composed of the Procureur-Général (an equivalent to the Crown Prosecutor of Scotland). He is assisted by a Première and Deuxième Substitut, by a President, seven Assistant Judges (conseillers), one Examining Magistrate (conseiller-auditeur) and a Registrar (greffier).

In the year 1882 the Court of Appeal of Martinique was called upon to decide 121 cases, 96 of these being criminal.

b. The Courts of Assize, before which serious criminal cases are brought. These courts are composed of the Procureur-Général, three Assistant Judges, and four Assessors.

c. Tribunal of Fort de France, consists of a President, an Examining Magistrate, two Assistant Judges, a Public Prosecutor; a substitute in his absence is selected from amongst the avocâts, and a Registrar. In 1882, this court adjudicated 991 cases, of which 686 were criminal.

d. Tribunal of St. Pierre, is composed similarly to that of Fort de France, but its labours were rather more extended, there being 1,114 plaints before it; of these 689 were criminal.

e. Courts of Juges de Paix exist at Fort de France, Lamentin, St. Esprit, Diamant, Marin, Mouillage de St. Pierre, Fort St. Pierre, Basse Pointe, and Trinité. The salaries of these officials vary from £160 to £240 a year. During the year 1882 these nine courts decided 6,978 cases, of which 5,945 were simple police regulations.

The various courts in the colony are governed by the French Code: during the existence of slavery, some modification in the Code Napoleon was requisite. Since the emancipation, however, the inhabitants have been invested with civil freedom, and endowed with civil equality; all being French subjects, are equally amenable to French laws.

Education.—This department is under the charge of a senior official of the Home Establishment, and his functions have been precisely laid down in a recent decree, by which the laicization of the schools for primary instruction (which have hitherto been under the charge of the Frères de Ploërmel, and of the Sisters of Saint Joseph de Cluny) has been ordained. Since the promulgation of this decree, sixty lay instructors

have been despatched to the colony ; but in order to spare the Local Budget the heavy expenditure which would be forced upon it were all the professors recruited from France, normal training-schools for boys and girls have been instituted in the colony, and it is hoped that these may become the nurseries of the future professors of the Communal schools of Martinique. In 1882 (up to which date the most recent reports have been published) the religious schools had not been entirely suppressed, and their instruction was carried on in two methods ; by these 9,866 children were regularly taught, viz. :—

68 Lay Schools for Boys	3,410
4 „ „ Girls	122
11 Schools of the Frères de Ploërmel (Boys)	1,671
34 „ for Girls, conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny . .	4,683

Up to the year 1880 the secondary education of youths was carried on in seminaries presided over by priests, and these schools were endowed with a number of scholarships ; but by a decree of the Colonial Government a Lycée was established in the island. The *personnel* of the educational establishments is drawn from the Department of Public Instruction in France, and, on completing a tour of foreign service, these gentlemen are readmitted to the home roster in a higher grade.

Higher education only exists for those students who are about to follow the profession of law. In January, 1883, a preparatory school for this subject was established in Martinique ; on condition of their submitting to a special examination in France at the end of their studies, temporary diplomas are issued to young men on leaving the establishment. In January, 1884, there were over one hundred pupils following this course.

A school of technical art, under the superintendence of the officer commanding the Engineers has recently been established in a vacant artillery barrack.

Clergy.—In the year 1850 Martinique was elevated into a bishopric, St. Pierre being selected as the site of the See.

The bishop has a right to sit as a member of the Governor's Supreme Council, when any matters relative to the diocese come up for discussion; two Vicars-General and seventy-four priests are attached to the diocese, which is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, its *personnel* being furnished by the Seminary of the Saint Esprit, in Paris, which institution also provided (prior to the laicization of the schools) the professors for the various seminaries in the island, annually transmitting for their support the sum of £2,750. The pay of the professors at the Martinique branch, to English eyes, appears marvellously inadequate, the Superior drawing £80, and six assistants £60 per annum, whilst the sum of £33 is allowed for the support of seventy pupils. Irrespective of the sum allocated to the diocese by the Société of the Frères of the Saint Esprit, the State allots £7,240 annually towards the payment of the clergy; but efforts are being made to sever Church and State throughout France, and it is anticipated very shortly that priests will be called on to continue their calling as did the ancient Apostles—that is, they shall have no money in their purse, neither scrip—and that the sums now allotted to the Church will be transferred to the Educational Services.

Public Works.—The Government of Martinique has annually for many years spent over £24,000 upon the construction of fresh public works or of roads, of which, in the year 1883, over 300 miles were open; but the majority were unmetalled.

At the present moment (1885) the following public works are in progress:—

1. A Lycée at Port St. Pierre.
2. A school of technical art at Fort de France.
3. Construction of a floating basin at Fort de France.
4. The cleansing of the channel of Fort St. Louis.
5. The deepening of the water off the East Quay at Fort de France.
6. The cleansing of the harbour, which is being silted up by the discharges from the Bouillé stream.
7. The construction of a breakwater from Fort St. Louis.

The staff of the department consists of an Engineer in Chief

and of twenty assistants, their salaries figuring in the Local Budget at £3,840.

Grievous complaints are heard of the smallness of the results achieved by the Public Works Department of Martinique. In reading the admirable *brochure* of Admiral Aube,* one is almost inclined to think he is alluding to the East Indian possessions of the British Government, not to the French Antilles:—"In estimating the sums spent on public works at twenty million francs, I am sure I am considerably under the mark. What has become of all these millions?" Unmetalled roads, unfinished buildings, fortifications which in their place combine every possible defect, and are valueless for purposes of defence. Tariffs which choke commerce and a spirit of bigoted opposition to all improvements, which stifles the progress of true economy. The advances of a private firm to connect the two principal towns, Port St. Pierre and Fort de France, were rudely spurned, and even at the present moment no direct macadamised road runs between them. It is true that there is telegraphic communication between them; but this is the only wire in the island.

"Even the graving dock which has been constructed at Fort de France is left tenantless, owing to the exorbitant charges demanded by the colonial authorities; and vessels prefer to proceed to St. Thomas or to New York rather than to submit to their demands. The total expenditure on the excellent and necessary work amounted, up to December, 1883, to £243,000, and the total receipts from vessels using it £11,870.

"One instance will suffice to show that unless the colonial authorities modify their rates even the present receipts will diminish. Two vessels belonging to a French transatlantic line met with similar mishaps; the one entered a graving dock at New York, remained in it for fifty days, and then returned to France after a complete refit, the total dock charges being £3,753 8*s.* 4*d.*, whereas the *Germania*, a sister vessel, after twenty-five days' sojourn in the graving dock at Martinique, at a cost of £3,904, returned to St. Nazaire, having undergone only

* "La Martinique, son Présent et son Avenir," par le Contre-Amiral Aube. Paris: Berger-Levrault et Cie.

a temporary repair, as her captain found that the dock charges for the period necessary for a complete overhaul would have been over £20,000."

Cultivation.—The wealth of Martinique is in its sugar plantations, 61,643 acres of land being devoted to its culture; coffee, cotton, cocoa, and tobacco are also grown, but in a far less degree. It has been estimated that the value of the land devoted to sugar is £1,460,000, of the sugar manufactories £1,560,000, and of the animals and beasts of burden employed on the plantations £340,000, giving a total capital sunk in this industry of £3,360,000.

In the year 1882, the total produce of these 61,000 acres amounted to—

Sugar . . .	113,332,000 lbs.	value £973,680
Molasses . .	419,000 gallons	„ 15,240
Rum . . .	1,763,080 „	„ 112,196

or a total gross earning of £1,101,116.

From this sum must be deducted £584,208, cost of cultivation and manufacture, which raises the net price of sugar to 43 centimes the kilogramme, or about 2*d.* a pound. At this price the surplus of £516,908 leaves a very handsome profit on the capital sunk, if official statistics can be relied on. Until recently the rudest appliances were in vogue throughout the island in the sugar manufacture. Each planter was, as a rule, his own manufacturer, and this entailed heavy expenditure on machinery and outbuildings—an expenditure which brought to the verge of ruin those not blessed with large capital. So recently as 1880 many of these gentry would with pride point out appliances which had been in use close on two centuries. Recently a number of central steam factories have been established, to which the raw sugar is brought; labour is thus economized, and a stimulus has been given to the trade, but unfortunately the almost universal employment of beetroot in France, together with the heavy protective duties of that nation, are counterbalancing the energy of the colonists, and the sugar trade, rich as it is, is languishing, owing to the one-sided policy of the mother country, which, by fostering the

clique of sugar manufacturers in the country, and by the imposition of extravagant bounties, throws a heavy weight on the poor consumers, and heavily handicaps the colonial producer.

The produce of cocoa, coffee, cotton, spices, and tobacco is, with the exception of the former, steadily diminishing. The following table, necessarily incomplete in many particulars, shows the present state of affairs, and may be of interest as indicating the position of the colony:—

	Cocoa.		Coffee.		Cotton.		Spices.		Tobacco.	
	Acreage under cultivation.	Pounds produced.	Acreage under cultivation.	Pounds produced.	Acreage under cultivation.	Pounds produced.	Acreage under cultivation.	Pounds produced.	Acreage under cultivation.	Pounds produced.
1779	—	—	—	—	6,815	—	—	—	—	—
1789	2,950	—	1,538	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1832	—	378,207	—	—	—	—	—	13,900	—	—
1835	1,130	361,660	7,705	—	428	—	—	—	—	—
1875	1,508	616,000	—	—	—	88,000	—	82	—	46,200
1876	1,740	770,000	—	—	—	94,600	—		—	—
1877	1,735	600,600	—	—	—	5,720	—	Since 1875	—	—
1878	1,747	1,127,060	—	—	—	12,320	—	the cultivation has practically ceased.	—	—
1879	—	1,109,900	—	—	—	10,560	—		—	30,800
1880	1,713	1,355,200	1,713	—	528	9,592	—		—	26,400
1881	1,765	506,000	725	—	265	6,600	—		12	3,300
1882	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—

Of the total superficial area of the island (246,995 acres)—

61,643 acres are devoted to the cultivation of Sugar
1,765 „ „ „ „ Cocoa
723 „ „ „ „ Coffee
265 „ „ „ „ Cotton
12 „ „ „ „ Tobacco
30,368 „ „ „ „ Cereals
37,500 „ Forest land not brought into cultivation,
50,000 „ uncultivated, but well capable of tillage,
64,769 „ swampy ground unsuitable for cultivation.

Commerce.—The commerce of Martinique seems slowly diminishing. In 1882 the number of vessels entering was 764, against 804 of the previous year, whilst the clearances were 752, as against 776.

The value of Exports and Imports for the last four years show the same results:—

	Exports.			Imports.		
	To France.	Other Countries.	Total.	From France.	Other Countries.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1879	958,527	330,607	1,289,134	548,625	514,448	1,063,073
1880	932,408	350,270	1,282,678	563,484	689.496	1,252,970
1881	837,747	305,347	1,143 094	512,501	532,527	1,045,028
1882	801,643	288,918	1,090,551	501,728	513,204	1,014,932

The shipping movements for 1881 show how very completely the carrying trade of Martinique has passed out of the hands of the French; unfortunately, the "Tableaux des Movements de la Navigation commerciale entre la France et les Colonies en 1881," do not give the tonnage of any but French vessels, therefore an accurate return is impossible.

—	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
For or to France	75	23,685	117	36,148
For or to French Colonies . .	89	18,999	77	14,995
For or to Foreign Countries .	640	Of these 153 were of an aggregate tonnage of 83,454	582	Of these 133 had an aggregate tonnage of 82,932

The principal Imports were:—

From France—Guano and Chemical Manures	.	£56,454
„ „ Salt Butter	.	21,009
„ „ Wines and Spirits . . .	.	66,195
„ „ Leather Goods	.	62,057
„ „ Cotton Goods	.	28,436
„ French Colonies—Dried Cod . .	.	15.590
„ Foreign Countries—Salt Fish . .	.	47,716
„ „ Cereals . . .	.	92,562
„ „ Coal	.	16,980
„ „ Molasses . . .	.	56,664
„ „ Wood for Building	.	31,032

Finances.—The expenditure and receipts necessary for the administration of Martinique are appropriated in two Budgets, viz., that of the Local Government, and that of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies.

The former comprises all the payments for the internal administration, and is provided for by taxes levied by the Conseil Général of the colony; the latter is provided for in the Annual Budget, presented by the Minister of Marine to the Chamber of Deputies.

The items are given below:—

LOCAL BUDGET.

Land Tax	£13,440	
Furniture and House Tax	1,200	
Licences	9,600	
Registration of Weights and Measures	600	
Export Duties	28,000	
Import Duties	20,400	
Spirit Licences and Transport of Spirits	26,160	
Stamps on Registration of Deeds and Sales	33,480	
Poll Tax	28,670	
		161,450
*Funds supplied by the State in the Budget of Marine and the Colonies		159,870
		£321,320

Taxation.—If we add the "Contributions Directes," amounting to £53,510, to the local rates levied by the Communal authorities, (£96,507), we arrive at the average taxation per head actually paid by individuals, which reaches the heavy figure of £1 4*s.* 1*d.*

Garrison and Defences.—The garrison of Martinique consists of six companies of the Infantry of the Marine, a battery of the Artillery of the Marine, a company of Marine Gendarmerie, and one of disciplinary troops.

Their pay is not included in either the Local Budget or in that of the Minister of Marine as an item chargeable to the

* Details of this sum are given in Appendix No. 1.

colony, the burden being borne by the mother country. The colony possesses sufficient resources for the rationing of the troops, all fresh provisions being purchased on the spot; but a certain proportion of salt meat is allowed, owing to the high price of fresh meat on the island.

There are two hospitals in the colony, one at St. Pierre, the other at Fort de France.

In the brief history of the island I have shown how, in the many wars that were waged between England and France towards the end of the last, and at the commencement of this century, the harbour of Fort de France (Fort Royale, as it was termed in those days) afforded a secure point of refuge, from which the fleets of Duquesne, d'Estaing, and de Grasse issued forth to harry British commerce and ravage British possessions. When brought to bay by our fleets, the French fought bravely enough, but their admirals more generally were impressed with the truth of the proverb, "He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day"; and if a fair wind for a friendly port was blowing, the French squadron would bear up for that shelter rather than run the risk of capture. Not once or twice in the history of Martinique has it happened that French fleets have found safety under the walls of Forts Louis or Dessaix, and under the lee of the island of Ramiers, which still guards the entrance to Fort de France. But works constructed in the eighteenth century are little calculated to cope with the heavy-range guns of the powerful ironclads of the present day, and though a century ago British troops stood baffled by the works on Morne Tarançon, and British admirals shrank from exposing their frigates to the raking and plunging fire of the other works which guarded the entrance to the harbour, now no difficulty would be experienced in effecting a landing even under the very walls of the forts, whilst in many other parts of the island a descent would be absolutely unopposed. Rear-Admiral Aube, a recent Governor of Martinique, and now Minister of Marine in France, has drawn the attention of the French Government to the defenceless condition of the island, and recently drew up a plan by which, with a somewhat lavish expenditure of money, it might be made impregnable. His suggestions have not been

acted on. Possibly, remembering the past, the Republic feel it would be more economical to lose the island, and have it restored on a General Peace, as has so frequently occurred, than to expend some millions of francs in endeavouring to render it safe against the attacks of a maritime foe.

CHAPTER VIII.

GUADALOUPE.

Early French Occupation—Hostilities with the Natives—Collapse of the First Great Company—Captured by the British in 1703—Ceded by Peace of Utrecht—Recaptured in 1759, and Restored in 1763—Unsuccessful Attempt to Capture the Island in 1794—Its Capture in 1810—Restored by Treaty of Paris—Topography—Its Dependencies: Saintes, Marie Galante, Desirade, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew — Population — Immigration — Police—Government and Administration—Education—Clergy—Public Works—Cultivation—Commerce—Finances—Garrison.

GUADALOUPE and the little group of islands (Marie Galante, Desirade, and Saintes) which surround it, was discovered in the early part of November, 1493, by Christopher Columbus. For nearly a century and a half they remained unvisited by Europeans, and it was not until Richelieu gave free rein to his projects for the aggrandizement of France that attention was turned to the Antilles.

In the year 1625, Monsieur d'Esnambuc, a wealthy merchant of Dieppe, gifted with a genius for exploration, had navigated the Caribbean Sea, and obtained from the Cardinal authorization to found a company for the colonization of the islands of St. Christopher and Barbadoes. The prohibitive clauses regarding trade and transport stifled the young company in its birth, and d'Esnambuc was forced to turn his attention to enterprises unfettered by royal decrees. Fortunately there were in the vicinity of St. Christopher other worlds to conquer, and in 1635 he fitted out an expedition, consisting of 150 bucaneers and 400 Norman labourers, destined for the double object of conquering, occupying, and cultivating the island of Guadaloupe. A Monsieur

Olive, a colonel of the Royal Army, was in military command of the detachment, whilst a M. Duplessis was entrusted with the commercial arrangements. The early efforts of the undertaking were not prosperous. The troops as well as the colonists, young men fresh from the pure air and wholesome food of the North of France, were but little accustomed to the confined space of the 'tween decks of the small vessels of the seventeenth century, or to the indifferent food and water procurable in tropical voyages. Disease was rife ere the voyage was ended, and scurvy continued to claim its victims even after the force had disembarked, and in addition to sickness want of proper nourishment told heavily on the emigrants. Within six months of landing Duplessis died, and before the close of the year over two hundred Frenchmen had found a last resting-place in the West Indian island. Sickness and famine were not the only enemies M. Olive had to contend with. From the commencement the natives showed themselves decidedly hostile, and, owing to climate and the difficult nature of the country, operations against them could only be conducted on a very limited scale. Whenever the French troops met the aborigines in the open, success was assured, but their losses were very heavy owing to the constant ambuscades into which they were frequently led by the treachery or incapacity of their guides. D'Esnambuc was compelled to transmit very heavy reinforcements to enable Olive to make headway against the ever-increasing hostility of the aborigines, and to maintain the garrison at a far higher figure than the commercial future of the enterprise warranted. The arrival of fresh troops enabled Olive to wage a war of pitiless extermination against the Caribbeans, and, after four years of continuous hostilities, the greater part of the inhabitants were driven to take refuge in the neighbouring island of St. Domingo, or in the rocky regions near Grand Terre.

The expenses of the colony—if colony it might be called—had been enormous, and d'Esnambuc soon found that the pleasure of waging a lengthened war was one incompatible with the private fortune of an adventurer. In fact the "Compagnie des îles de Saint Christophe, de la Barbade, et autres à l'entrée

du Pérou" was in a hopeless state of bankruptcy. Efforts were made to carry it to a successful issue, but without avail, and the original proprietors, in September 1649, gladly made over their rights in Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade and Saintes to the Marquis de Boisseret, who was aided in the undertaking by his brother-in-law, M. Houel.

During the early years of M. de Boisseret's occupation, peace and quiet reigned on the island; the natives were weary of the war, and the planters were anxious to amass a competence and then to return to la belle France. But their over-anxiety to make riches quickly often led them to commit deeds of injustice and of violence. The reckless conduct of some of the lower class of emigrants, such as deserters from emigrant ships, liberated *forçats*, and others of the same class, led to serious disturbances, and in 1655 the war of races recommenced with redoubled fury. For five years the unequal contest raged, until at last, in March 1660, a treaty was concluded between the French leader and the native chief. French writers of eminence affirm that upwards of 50,000 unfortunate Caribbeans perished in the struggle, at the end of which there were but 6,000 of the original inhabitants left on the island.

Whilst the struggle lasted, the white population steadily increased. War—and such a war—proved an irresistible attraction to the wilder spirits who thronged the neighbouring islands. The scum of the world made it their home, and, though the life was wild and exciting, the prospects of the more peaceably disposed of the colonists became gloomier than ever. Ruin stared them in the face. Under a firm hand, under a stable Government, under a wise administration, the future prosperity of the island was assured; but under the lawless domination of bucaneering chiefs any hope of financial success was out of the question. Colbert, the far-seeing Minister of Louis XIV., saw this, and in the year 1664 Guadaloupe became a Royal Possession, and was incorporated with the Great Company of the West Indies which was launched at this date, with a flourish of trumpets that reached from one end of France to the other. The triumph was of short duration. "The Company was as rapacious in its demands as it was warlike in its actions; the

selfishness and cupidity of its members, who worked only for their own profit and not for the general good of the Company, was the cause of the stagnation of its commerce, and finally of its ruin." So wrote an eminent French writer in describing the early years of Guadaloupe. In ten short years, bankruptcy, the usual fate of the early French colonies, overtook it, and the King, who to a certain extent had guaranteed the funds of the original founders, paid its liabilities and pronounced its dissolution.

Though all connection between the State and the trading company was severed, Guadaloupe and its dependencies were still considered a Crown colony. A small French garrison was left on the island, and the Dutch settlers, to whose perseverance the wealth of the island is due, were placed under French laws. Some twenty years before, two vessels conveying Dutch refugees from Brazil had arrived at Guadaloupe, and the Marquis de Boisseret, seeing in them material for successful colonists, gladly sold to them considerable tracts of land. In 1653 these gentlemen returned with over a thousand half-castes and slaves, and to their energy and initiation we may date the sugar industry of the island. Though the State-assisted Company, owing to the short-sighted policy of its members, speedily arrived at bankruptcy, the Dutch planters were rapidly amassing fortunes, and the dues levied on their exports and imports sufficed to pay for the administration of the island after the collapse of the West India Company.

From 1674, the date of the dissolution of the French West India Company, to 1689, the date of the outbreak of war between France and England, the colony enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Unhampered by the onerous demands of the Royal Intendants, who acted for the benefit of their master, not for the welfare of the island, it was impossible to evade the payment of heavy taxes. Industry suffered, trade languished, and Louis saw that the drain on the mother country, necessary for the government of the country, was not compensated for by the amount transmitted home by his agents, to whose palms the major sums adhered. He saw also that, in the event of war with any maritime Power, these colonies, constituted as they then were, would be a source of danger to the State; their wealth,

the property of the Crown, would fall into other hands, and their recovery be a more difficult matter than if the islands. though portions of the State, were divided amongst individual proprietors. It was an act therefore of political prudence, as well as one of prudent economy, which induced him in 1674 to hand over the leased estates to their proprietors, and to retain merely the government of the island in his own hands.

For fifteen years the island prospered under the persevering energy of the Dutch, but in 1689, on the outbreak of the war with England, its flourishing condition naturally attracted the attention of our naval Commanders cruising in those waters, and for the succeeding forty years its progress was much hampered.

The Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, gave it but a temporary respite from the horrors of war, for in 1702 hostilities between England and France again broke out, and British Admirals again looked upon the wealthy plantations of the French West Indies, or the rich galleons which bore their freight to Brest and Havre, as fair and lawful prize. Many a spirited conflict between Benbow's squadron and French fleets took place under the lee of these islands, which then were not in a position to afford a secure port of refit to vessels of their own nation, and so these ships, unable to find refuge under protecting forts, fell an easy prey to those belonging to other Powers. Efforts were made by the colonists to erect defensive works, but France was too much engaged in serious warfare nearer her own borders to be able to spare assistance for her distant dependencies, and the inhabitants themselves were unwilling to spend large sums on fortifications which they maintained should be a charge on the Royal Exchequer.

In the year 1703, apprised of the defenceless condition of the French West India islands, Admiral Sir George Rooke, commanding in the Mediterranean, despatched a squadron of six seventy-four-gun ships, convoying four battalions of the line, to make a descent on Guadaloupe. General Codrington, who commanded the land forces, appears to have acted with spirit and judgment. The troops landed, carried such defences as the place possessed, and hoisted the British, instead of the White Flag of France, over the walls of the principal towns.

The naval Commander, Captain Hovenden Walker, was oppressed with a sense of his responsibility, and on a French force appearing to relieve the place, insisted on the re-embarkation of the troops, and the abandonment of the island, which had been so easily won. Codrington, however, before complying with Walker's orders, blew up the fortifications and magazines, besides destroying a vast amount of public and private property.

With the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, dawned a new era of prosperity, and for a second period of forty years Guadaloupe, after its forty years of war, enjoyed a like space of peace. Thanks to the mild administration of its French rulers, and to the careful habits of the Dutch settlers, emigrants were attracted, and agriculture improved; and, mindful of the losses incurred during the long war with England, the mother country and the colony conjointly erected a series of defensive works, commanding all the principal harbours, to guard against the incursions they had so grievously suffered from.

The population of the island, which in 1656 did not reach 7,000 souls, of whom more than 6,000 were aborigines, in 1756 exceeded 60,000, of whom 41,000 were imported slaves—a marvellous instance of rapid prosperity.

In that year, however, war between France and England again broke out, and the British fleet once more commenced to scour distant seas. At home, our expeditions were uniformly unsuccessful, and the Duke of Marlborough, with nothing but the prestige of a great name to warrant his selection for command, was ignominiously defeated in an attempt to seize the fortifications of St. Malo. A similar attack on Cherbourg was productive of a like result, and in 1758 General Bligh, who had landed with 6,000 men at St. Lunaire, on the coast of Brittany, and ravaged the neighbouring country, was driven into the sea at St. Cast by the Duc d'Aiguillon and some Breton levies. On the fitting out of these expeditions, the King had truly prophesied "that we should brag we had burnt the French ships, and that they would boast and brag they had driven us into the sea." Our successes on the Continent of Europe, in Canada, and the East Indies; and the ease with which the

French settlements on the West Coast of Africa had been reduced, induced our Government to turn their attention to the West Indian possessions of France.

In the month of November, 1758, a formidable flotilla of eight ships-of-the-line, and sixty transports conveying six regiments of foot, was despatched to the West Indies for the subjugation of the French Caribbean islands. The force was under the command of General Hobson, and, on arrival at Barbadoes, Commodore Moore, with ten more sail-of-the-line, assumed control of the naval operations. After an ineffectual attempt on Martinique, the expedition arrived off Basse Terre, the capital of Guadaloupe, on the morning of the 23rd January, 1759.

In opposition to the opinion of the Chief Engineer of the Land forces, Commodore Moore determined to effect the destruction of the fortress of Basse Terre before permitting the troops to land, and in this he was supported by General Hobson. At 9 A.M. on the 23rd January, a heavy action between the wooden walls of England and the stone walls of the forts commenced. The Commodore, the better to direct operations, and to be in constant communication with the General commanding the troops, shifted his flag to a frigate, and lay out of gunshot of the batteries. For this conduct he was most severely blamed by his naval subordinates on the spot, who construed the act into a want of courage. In point of fact, Moore was a man of experience and ability, and had shown his bravery on many occasions; in traversing the space between his flagship and the *Woolwich*, the Commodore was exposed to a heavy mitraille from the forts, during which he maintained the most perfect composure; his personal courage was thus testified to by his boat's crew, and General Hobson himself bore witness to the necessity of the Admiral being in the same vessel as himself, in order that they might determine such time and mode of landing as the occasion demanded. Away from the smoke of the engagment it was more easy to watch the operations and decide on the moment best suited for the landing of the troops.

The conduct of the bombarding squadron was beyond all

praise. Piloted by the sailing masters, who were dependent on French charts for their information, the vessels stood in shore and laid alongside the strong masonry forts, engaging them with the utmost intrepidity. It was unavoidable that such a feat could be performed without serious loss. The *Ripon*, running aground, was exposed to the fire, not only of two twelve-gun stone forts, but of an earthwork on a hill which swept her decks, and finally set her on fire. Seeing the danger to the *Ripon*, the *Bristol*, who had silenced the work assigned to her, stood in to aid her crippled consort, and, anchoring between her and the shore batteries, relieved Captain Jekyll of a serious responsibility, and enabled the crew of the *Ripon* to extinguish the flames which threatened the destruction of his ship.

At 7 P.M. the whole of the outer works were silenced, but no reply being made to signals for capitulation, and a boat carrying a flag of truce being fired on from the shore, the small craft of the squadron stood in to the inner harbour, and commenced a bombardment of the town—an act which in these days we should consider unjustifiable and cruel. The masonry buildings were, however, filled with armed men, and light field-pieces from every corner opened a destructive fire on the flotilla. By midnight the greater part of the town was in flames, still the fierce combat raged, ever and anon the rattle of the musketry and sharp reports of the artillery being overpowered by the dull roar of an exploded magazine.

As dawn broke on the 24th, the full extent of the destruction was visible, yet the gallant defenders showed no symptom of surrender. The Commodore, at about 7 A.M., flung out the signal to cease firing, and despatched a flag of truce towards the mole; this, too, was fired on, and the boat narrowly escaped capture. It was then determined to overawe the garrison by an immediate display of all our force, and with leadsmen in the chains, piloted by the sailing master of the *Bristol*, the whole squadron stood in to the inner harbour. On this the fire from the shore slackened, and by 5 P.M. it was deemed expedient to land the troops. This was effected without opposition, and, on reaching the citadel, it was found that the Governor had

evacuated it, and retired with the troops to a strong defensive position some miles in the interior. The British colours were accordingly hoisted on the forts, and an ultimatum despatched to the Chevalier d'Etreil, the gallant officer who had so nobly defended the fortifications against such fearful odds. To this message the characteristic reply was returned: "The English have taken everything from us but our honour and our lives; these are yet in our keeping, and we shall sell them as dearly as possible."

The nature of the country between Basse Terre and d'Etreil's position was so rugged and mountainous, abounding with passes and defiles of such a difficult and dangerous character, that General Hobson, unprovided as he was with the necessary means for prosecuting an inland expedition, determined to confine his operations to the capture of all the towns on the seacoast, and to compel the surrender of the French forces (now swelled by the addition of a number of armed negroes to a strength of about 16,000 fighting men) by a close investment. His action was construed into a sign of weakness, and the planters, encouraged by the French Commander, entered on a species of irregular warfare, harassing our outposts, and throwing up intrenchments on the heights dominating Basse Terre. In fact, it appeared that Hobson himself would be invested, and it was decided to sweep the enemy off the neighbouring hills. This operation was performed in the most gallant manner by the "Buffs," who suffered some loss in the engagement, three officers and fourteen men being killed.

On the 13th February, a part of the land forces were re-embarked for the reduction of Fort Louis, on the island of Grande Terre, separated only from Basse Terre by a small channel. After a bombardment of six hours, during which the works were very much shattered, and most of the guns dismounted, the French garrison showing its accustomed heroism, the Highland regiment of Lord John Murray, and the Marines of the squadron, were landed, the works carried with the bayonet, and the British flag ere sunset flew over the walls.

Our forces, however successful against their open foe, had another and more dangerous enemy to encounter. Practically

cut off from all communication with the interior, surrounded by a bitterly hostile population, dependent on the squadron for their necessary supplies, they soon commenced to succumb to the usual accompaniments of distant expeditions—bad food and exposure.

Scurvy and yellow fever simultaneously attacked the force, and, working side by side, these implacable foes soon decimated the British garrison. General Hobson was one of the first victims. The second in command, Barrington, foreseeing the total destruction of the troops if they remained longer exposed to the pernicious influences of bad food and bad water, blew up all the works except the citadel. This he entrusted to General Debrisay, and, leaving with him one strong regiment and a considerable detachment of artillery, re-embarked the remainder of his troops. No sooner had the squadron convoying the army disappeared than D'Etreil, issuing from the mountain fastnesses, subjected the British garrison to a close investment, and bringing up guns to the line of hills which the Buffs had carried in the preceding month, opened a heavy fire on the citadel. A gallant sortie, as skilfully carried out as it had been carefully prepared, enabled the British to check the French operations. But a conflagration which occurred early in March subjected them to far heavier losses than any inflicted by the enemy; the flames were localized to one bastion, but in that one was the principal powder magazine, and in an heroic effort to save the lives of their men, Debrisay and thirteen officers of all ranks, including the officer commanding the regiment, perished—blown up by the explosion of the magazine.

Under cover of the flames of the burning citadel, and taking advantage of the confusion naturally caused by the loss of their commander and so many senior officers, D'Etreil headed another assault on the fort. Major Melville, who succeeded Debrisay in command, met him with the valour which has, since the saving of the colours of the 24th at Isandhlana, in Zululand, become inseparably connected with his name, and defeated him with heavy loss. But Melville was not long left to sustain the unequal contest. So soon as the sea air had

stamped out the fever which had so weakened his troops, Barrington directed Commodore Moore to return to the harbour, and he then conceived the design of reducing the island by means of a series of small expeditions operating against all the coast towns.

No time was to be lost; information reached the General that Admiral de Bompart, with eight sail-of-the-line, three frigates, and 5,000 regular troops, had reached Martinique from Brest, and that immediate steps were about to be taken for the relief of Guadaloupe. Action, to be effective, must be immediate.

A battalion with three guns, under Colonel Crump, seized the towns of St. Anne and St. Francis, meeting with but little opposition; but a smaller force, in attacking Gosier, was rather roughly handled, and did not effect its object until more than half its number were placed *hors de combat*. Its Commander, however, succeeded at last in overcoming all opposition, and finally opened up communication with the British troops garrisoning Fort Louis.

On the 1st April, 1759, a combined attack by a force of 1,500 men, under Clavering, on the towns of Petit Bourg, Goyave, and Saint Mary's, was unsuccessful; but, on the following day, Lord John Murray's Highlanders being entrusted with the honour of leading, the French were driven from their entrenchments, the Scotchmen losing two officers and thirteen men killed, six officers and eighty-seven men wounded, in the affair.

The continued successes of the British, and the terrible losses their operations in the interior caused to the planters, induced M. D'Etreil to listen to the proposal of the leading inhabitants that negotiations should be opened with General Barrington. The English Commander, on his part, was glad to come to terms with a foe who had throughout the campaign shown such undeniable gallantry, and on the 1st May a capitulation was signed, the French unconditionally surrendering the island. Shortly afterwards, a squadron conveying General Beauharnais and 2,000 troops succeeded in eluding the vigilance of Commodore Moore's cruisers, and appeared off

the island for the purpose of relieving D'Etreil; but, on learning of the capitulation, Beauharnais returned to Martinique, leaving the British in undisturbed possession of Guadaloupe.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, a treaty which brought to a conclusion the Seven Years' War, Guadaloupe, with other conquests made by the British, was retroceded to France, and placed by the orders of the King under the administration of the Governor of Martinique. Even during the British occupation the prosperity of the island, checked as it naturally had been by the sanguinary war which in 1759 devastated its coasts, made rapid strides, and the twenty successive years of peace which intervened between the departure of the British and the outbreak of the Revolution—so far as it affected the West Indian possessions of France—were perhaps those during which Guadaloupe was at the zenith of its commercial prosperity. Its population, which we have seen in 1756 as amounting to 60,000 souls, received a notable augmentation during the subsequent English occupation, upwards of 19,000 slaves having been imported between the years 1759 and 1763. Thus the proportion between white men and black was sensibly altered, and in 1781 we find the population of the island estimated at 100,000, of whom 14,000 were Europeans, 1,400 freed negroes, and 84,000 slaves, giving a density of about 147 inhabitants per square mile.

The outbreak of the Revolution in 1790 was productive of as great disorders in Guadaloupe as in France; the decrees of the Convention were trampled under foot by the wealthy planters, and welcomed with outrageous enthusiasm by the meaner whites. In the colony, as in the mother country, the thirst for freedom was slaked only by a civil war, in which the Royalists or lovers of order were opposed to the Republican faction, who were not slow in persuading the negro population to espouse their cause. Soon the struggle degenerated—or might I say was elevated?—into one of race; black fought white, and fought for absolute, not merely political, freedom. The wholesale destruction of property was followed by wholesale massacres, and in a few short weeks the interior of the island was in the possession of

the negroes. Then came a gallant stand by the master race, the tide of reaction set in, civilized force and organized discipline swept all before it, alas! to be followed by that retribution where justice is rarely tempered by mercy, and which, judged by the cold, impartial light of after years, seems more akin to blind revenge. Every planter considered himself a judge, and every judge became his own executioner. It is stated by a French author that no fewer than 20,000 negroes perished in this holocaust, and that over 300 white men, women, and children had been massacred by the slaves at the commencement of the outbreak.

Scarcely had the embers of the negro insurrection been trampled out ere news arrived of the invasion of France by the Allied Powers of Austria and Prussia, and this was speedily followed by the intelligence that England had espoused the cause of the Monarchs, and was throwing the whole weight of her forces against Republican France. Previous experience had warned Guadaloupe of her fate: the riches of the West India islands and their defenceless condition was a never-failing bait for the cupidity of English Governments, and in the spring of '94 an armament was fitted out for their reduction.

After having successfully captured the islands of Martinique and St. Lucia, the expedition, which was under the joint commands of Admiral Sir John Jervis and General Sir Charles Grey, arrived before Guadaloupe on the 11th April, 1794. The landing party, consisting of the 43rd and 93rd Regiments, assaulted and captured the Fleur d'Epée fort, whilst the *Winchilsea* frigate, Captain Lord Garlies, stood in and dismounted the guns on the other works. Finding resistance hopeless, the Governor proposed a capitulation, which was accorded him; and the General, leaving what he considered a sufficient garrison under General Dundas, sailed away with the rest of the expedition. On the 3rd June a strong French force appeared off the island, under the command of Victor Hugues, a stern Republican. By his orders secret overtures were made to the French Royalists, who most unwisely had been incorporated into the garrison of the Fleur d'Epée; and when an

assault was delivered the British Commander had the mortification of seeing all his men, with the exception of about forty, throw down their arms and fraternize with the enemy. Dundas in the meantime held out, and contrived to transmit information of his straits to the Admiral, and on the 19th of June Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey made an effort to dislodge Victor Hugues; but the Republican leader was a born if not a trained soldier, and he successfully resisted the combined efforts of the British land and sea forces. Assault after assault was delivered on his position: he not only repelled these, but, finding the British becoming demoralized by their constant failures, he suddenly assumed the offensive, and infusing his own vigour and determination into his subordinates, compelled Sir Charles Grey, at the beginning of July, to reembark his force and leave the island in the hands of the French. Disease was, perhaps, a keener foe to the British forces than even the gallant Victor Hugues. Throughout the operations yellow fever had been decimating our troops, and whereas our losses from the sword amounted to 112 killed and 340 wounded, over 700 men had fallen victims to the plague which is the scourge of the West Indies.

Throughout the remainder of the war with the Republic Guadaloupe was left unmolested, and it was not until the resumption of operations against the Empire that fresh efforts were made to wrest it from France.

The comparative ease with which the reduction of Martinique had been effected, in the spring of 1809, by Sir George Beckwith, induced the British Government to turn their attention to Guadaloupe, now the only island remaining to the French in the Caribbean Sea. In the month of November Sir George was directed to concentrate his forces at Dominica for its capture. It was well known that since the Peace of Amiens much labour and money had been expended in order to strengthen the defences of the island, and it was therefore judged advisable to despatch a far larger force than had been considered necessary for the capture of Martinique. The troops were massed in three divisions, the first under General Hislop, the second division under General Harcourt, and the reserve under General

Wall, Vice-Admiral Sir George Cochrane being in charge of the fleet co-operating with the land forces.

On the 26th of January, 1810, the first division, under Major-General Hislop, left Dominica, and the following morning was successfully disembarked at St. Marie Capesterre; meeting with no opposition, it moved forward on the following day, crossing the Bannamer River, and on the 30th, finding the strong pass of Trou-au-Chien undefended, it reached Three Rivers, when, after a sharp brush with the enemy, it found itself in face of the fortified position of D'Olet. The works on the heights above bristled with field-guns, and Hislop, who was deficient in that arm, did not feel justified in risking a frontal attack; he therefore spent the afternoon in reconnoitring the enemy's works, meaning to assault them on the morrow. He was spared the trouble; as dawn broke it was perceived that the French had fled, leaving all their guns behind them. But the credit of this success was mainly due to the sudden appearance of the second division under Harcourt in the enemy's rear. This corps, leaving Dominica the same day as the first division, had put into Les Saintes to pick up some details, and on the morning of the 30th, landing at the embouchure of the River du Plessis, had immediately marched to the sound of Hislop's guns. Fearing their retreat cut off, the French precipitately abandoned the position on the heights of D'Olet, and retired to a still more formidable one behind the River Novie, on the ridge of Beaupère Saint Louis. On the morning of the 4th of February a general advance was ordered, the whole of Beckwith's force now for the first time acting in concert; the reserve under Wall being sent round to turn the enemy's left. Out-flanked and out-numbered, General Ernouf had no alternative but to capitulate, and on the morning of the 5th February eight days after the expedition had sailed from Dominica, Guadaloupe was in our possession. Once more the 90th Regiment was selected for the honour of furnishing the officer who was to convey the despatches and the Eagle of the 66th French Regiment to England.

The losses of the force under General Beckwith's command during the expedition to Guadaloupe amounted to 52 killed

and 250 wounded, and the regiments taking part in it were permitted to bear the word "Guadaloupe" on their colours and appointments.

In 1813 the island of Guadaloupe was ceded by Great Britain to Sweden; but on the completion of the Treaty of Paris in 1814 it was restored to France, only again to fall into our hands on the renewal of the war with Napoleon. It was again finally ceded to France in December, 1815. Since then, a period of seventy years, Guadaloupe has enjoyed an unbroken career of peace; but the repeated changes in the administration of the colony, the lack of capital for the development of its industries, the protectionist policy of the French, and the impetus given to the manufacture of beetroot sugar, have all combined to strike a blow at the commerce of the colony. This fatal policy is rapidly ruining all the smaller landowners, increasing the Colonial Budget, and annually making it a heavier burthen on the mother country.

Topography.—The island of Guadaloupe is very irregular in form, its coast line being impinged on by numerous bays and small harbours, few of which are of value for any but small craft. It is divided into two parts by a canal styled the Rivière Salée, varying in breadth from 35 to 130 yards. Owing to the shallowness of the passage, this channel is navigable only by small vessels employed in inland navigation.

That portion of the island lying to the west of the Rivière Salée, and generally known as Guadaloupe proper, has a superficial area of 369 square miles. The nature of its rocks attests its volcanic origin, though the surface soil is extremely rich and fertile. A range of hills traverse the island, its highest peak being known as the Soufrière: this attains an elevation of 5,111 feet. From this range flow numerous watercourses, which add greatly to the fertility of the land.

Guadaloupe is divided into sixteen Communes, these again being grouped into four cantons, each of which is represented in the Conseil Général of the colony. The whole of this region is hilly, except in the neighbourhood of the Rivière Salée, where the slopes are rounded off into large beautiful plains, which intervene between the mountains and the sea. These plains are devoted to the culture of sugar, coffee, cocoa, as well as of

ordinary cereals, and in the lower valleys many varieties of tropical fruits are to be met with. The hills which bound these plains are well wooded, and the soil being extremely rich, as the forests are cleared away fresh tracts of virgin land come under cultivation.

To the south-west of the Soufrière, and lying close under its feet, is the Basse Terre, the capital of the colony, a town which, though numbering only 8,178 inhabitants, possesses all the characteristics of a chief city—Chambers of Commerce, Chambers of Agriculture, barracks, arsenals, Civil and Military hospitals, a prison, a diocesan college, and a good harbour with excellent wharf accommodation. Three miles to the north of Basse Terre, and on the lower slopes of the Soufrière, at an elevation of 1,788 feet, stands the Sanitarium of Saint Jacob, the Simla of Guadaloupe: here the Governor has his summer quarters, whilst barracks and hospitals have been provided for the troops during the sickly season.

Grande Terre.—That part of the island to the east of the Rivière Salée is known under the designation of Grande Terre. Unlike the western half of the island the country is generally flat, and almost completely deprived of running water. It is traversed from south-east to north-west by a range of hills of low elevation, well wooded, from which spring a series of ridges running at right angles to the parent chain; the valleys between them are in some cases gloriously fertile and well cultivated, others are arid and barren, destitute of vegetation, and consequently left neglected. The area of Grande Terre is about 256 square miles; it is divided into ten Communes, which are again grouped into the four cantons of Pointe-à-Pitre, Saint François, Moule, and Port Louis; these return between them sixteen members to the Conseil Général. The principal town of Grande Terre, Pointe-à-Pitre, possesses an excellent harbour, capable of receiving ships of the heaviest tonnage; there is also a bank, a branch of the Crédit Foncier Colonial, Chambers of Commerce and of Agriculture, Civil and Military hospitals, a theatre, two printing presses, and a weekly journal. In one of the suburbs of the town the immense sugar manufactory of Darboussier and Co. is situated: it is said that this establish-

ment is capable of turning out 10,000 tons of sugar annually. A water supply is laid from the hills to Pointe-à-Pitre, which in this respect is in advance of the other towns on the island, as they are unable for want of means to erect waterworks, and are consequently dependent on the rain, which they collect in large tanks.

On the eastern coast of Grande Terre lies the port of Moule, available for vessels not exceeding 300 tons; to the north-east, the bay of Port Louis and that of the "Little Canal" also offer good anchorages for small craft.

The island abounds in warm mineral springs, some saline, some sulphurous, some ferruginous; those of Dôle, six miles from Basse Terre, of Ravine Chaude, in the Commune of Lamentin, the sulphur springs of Sophia, and the boiling waters of Malouba, enjoy a local reputation, and are much frequented by visitors ordered there by the medical faculty.

Attached to Guadaloupe, for administrative purposes, are the five neighbouring islands of Marie Galante, Saintes, Desirade, St. Martin, and St. Barthélemy.

1. Marie Galante, the largest of these, is twenty-nine miles south-east of Basse Terre. Its total population is 15,727 souls. The chief town, Grand Bourg, possesses the usual public offices, a Chamber of Agriculture, House of Correction, Civil hospital, barracks, schools, and a large sugar factory. The harbour, though commodious, has a very dangerous entrance, which interferes much with the progress of the island. The area of Marie Galante is about 37,900 acres, and its principal towns are—

	Population.
Grand Bourg	6,732
Capesterre	4,811
Saint Louis	4,184

intes.—The little group of islets situated about twelve miles south-east of Guadaloupe form the second dependency of the colony. One of these—Terre de Haut—possesses an excellent harbour, and

the remains of fortifications which, in the wars of the last century, caused us no small trouble. Our Gallic neighbours have styled it the Gibraltar of the Antilles: it, however, attempted no opposition to the landing of General Maitland, who, after the reduction of Martinique in February, 1809, captured les Saintes without losing a man. The population of this island in 1881 amounted to 1,678 souls, being an increase of seventy-six since the preceding census.

3. Desirade.—Seven miles to the north-east of Guadaloupe lies the island of Desirade; it has an area of about eleven square miles, and the soil is extremely fertile. A large proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in the cultivation of cotton, whereas those living on the coast devote themselves to fishery. The total population in 1881 was 1,914, showing an increase of thirty-two on 1880.
4. Saint Martin.—The northern portion of the island of Saint Martin, covering an area of about twenty square miles, is also annexed to the colony of Guadaloupe. The remainder of the island belongs to the Dutch. The town of Margiot, the official French capital, is the seat of a Juge de Paix. The chief commerce of the island is in salt; large works for its production exist in Margiot. The inhabitants, who number 3,667 souls, also raise cattle for sale in the larger colony, Machete. Saint Martin is about 150 miles north of Gaudaloupe. In the year 1801, the island being in the joint possession of the French and Dutch, and both Powers being at war with England, opportunity was taken of a force being in the neighbourhood for the reduction of St. Bartholomew, to land a force on Saint Martin. On the 24th March, after a sharp conflict, in which the garrison showed much gallantry, it surrendered to the British, to be again restored on the Peace of Amiens.

5. St. Bartholomew lies between the British colony of Saint Christopher and the Dutch island of Saint Eustatia, and is situated about 112 miles NNW. of Guadaloupe. The island is extremely mountainous and rocky, and this, though the soil is fertile, prevents any very extended cultivation. Tropical fruits grow in profusion; these are exported to the neighbouring isles by vessels of small tonnage, which trade to Carénage, for this purpose the only port in the island.

Saint Bartholomew was one of the ancient possessions of the "Compagnie des îles de Saint Christophe, de la Barbade, et autres à l'entrée du Pérou," and was formally annexed to France in 1648; a century and a half later (in 1784) it was ceded by Louis XVI. to Sweden. Gustavus III. acquired it with a view of establishing commercial relations between his country and the West Indies. In 1801, the rupture between Great Britain and the Northern Powers was followed by the expedition to Copenhagen, in which Nelson added to his immortal renown; and, concurrently with the despatch of the fleet to the Baltic, a force consisting of the 1st Royals, the Buffs, the 11th and 64th Foot, with two newly-raised battalions of West Indian troops, was organized for the conquest of the colonial possessions of Denmark and Sweden. On the 20th March, 1801, the squadron conveying the troops appeared before St. Bartholomew, then in possession of the Swedes; but the Governor, having no adequate means of resistance, at once hauled down his flag, and General Trigge, leaving a garrison in the island, passed on to Saintes. The sudden blow struck at Copenhagen, followed as it was by the death of the Emperor Paul, dissolved the Northern Confederacy, and, on the renewal of peace, Saint Bartholomew was restored to the Swedes. Although for close on three-quarters of a century it remained in their hands, the French language and French customs never died out, and in 1877 overtures were made for its recovery by the Republic. On the 10th August of that year, a treaty was signed by which St. Bartholomew again passed into the hands

of the original owners, and by a clause in the decree of the Senate, ratifying the treaty, the island was attached to the Government of Guadaloupe for all administrative purposes. Its population numbered, in 1881, 2,925.

Population.—The total population of Guadaloupe, at the census of 1881, amounted to 193,962 souls.

Resident Population.		
Males—Adults	50,620	
„ Boys under 14	28,179	
„ Civil Functionaries	1,842	
„ Garrison	921	
„ Coolies	23,604	
		105,163
Females—Adults	54,227	
„ Under 14	27,325	
„ Wives of Functionaries	763	
„ Coolies	6,481	
		88,796
		193,962

As in its sister isle, Martinique, the marriage state is not held in high honour in Guadaloupe, and the proportion of illegitimate births is even greater than in France, arguing an even more advanced state of immorality.

	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.
1879	4,261	496	4,500
1880	4,554	517	4,864
1881	4,377	492	6,171

Giving an average of 29·9 births per thousand inhabitants, 30·3 deaths, and but three marriages! No fewer than 250 per thousand of the births are illegitimate!

From the earliest occupation of the island, the proceedings of both Civil and Criminal courts have always been governed by the codes in vogue in the mother country. So far back as the year 1681 we find a Royal decree laying this down as a fundamental principle, and it has never since been departed from.

Naturally, certain modifications have from time to time been made in the French codes in order to make the laws more suitable to the inhabitants of their distant possessions. For instance, when slavery was rampant in the island, and before universal freedom was declared, the laws for the white man and the black were by no means the same; but the Penal Code of 1877 was made applicable in its entirety to the island, and now, nominally at any rate, all French subjects, black and white, are equal in the eyes of the French law. Foreigners, however, are subject to the same restrictions as in France, as regards bringing actions against French subjects, and in cases amongst themselves they can claim non-jurisdiction.

Immigration.—The condition of the coolies at work on the French plantations leaves much to be desired; being foreigners, they are powerless to bring cases of breach of engagement without lodging a sum, to be decided on by the court, as costs for the defendants. This sum is generally fixed at such a figure as totally to preclude the possibility of litigation: thus the untutored Indian is forced to bear the ills as best he may. It is true that nominal attempts are made to supervise the coolies, and to ascertain whether they are subject to any hardships; for this purpose a "Service d'Immigration" has been instituted. The chief official draws a salary of £240 a year; he is assisted by two inspectors with salaries of £200, and by nine assistant magistrates at salaries of £160: living, as these men do, in the midst of planters, wealthy men, it is not to their interest to irritate their countrymen, and the smallness of their salaries is a premium on venality. The expenses of the Immigration Department reach the sum of £19,800.

Police.—A detachment of the Gendarmerie of the Marine is quartered in the island, but for all practical purposes the Communal police are the only persons employed in the suppression and detection of crime.

Government and Administration.—The administrative organization of Guadaloupe is similar in every respect to that of its sister isle, Martinique—that is to say, it is presided over by a Governor, who is aided by a Supreme Council,

consisting of the same officials as in Martinique;* financial questions are decided by a Conseil Général, the thirty-six members of which are elected by universal suffrage in the various cantons. There is a "Commission Coloniale," consisting of seven members, and Criminal and Civil procedure is provided for by a Court of Appeal at Basse Terre, a Court of Assize at Pointe-à-Pitre; Tribunals of the First Instance at Basse Terre, Pointe-à-Pitre, Marie Galante, Saint Barthélemy, and Saint Martin; and Justices of the Peace in each of the nine cantons. All these Courts are constituted in a similar manner to those in Martinique. There is, therefore, no necessity to recapitulate their organization. It may be of interest, however, to show how litigation was resorted to in this small colony during the last year (1882) for which returns are available:—

—	Civil Cases.	Commercial Cases.	Criminal Appeals.	Criminal Cases.	Simple Police Offences.
Court of Appeal	14	6	98	—	—
Tribunal of Basse Terre . .	57	15	—	333	—
Tribunal of Pointe-à-Pitre .	251	101	—	541	—
Tribunal of Marie Galante .	34	2	—	219	—
Tribunal of St. Bartholomew.	2	11	—	12	—
Tribunal of St. Martin . .	5	2	—	45	—
Nine Courts of Juges de Paix	791	—	—	—	2,607

As I said before, the island and its dependencies are divided into thirty-three Communes, grouped into nine cantons, the latter returning thirty-six members to the Conseil Général of the colony, which has its head-quarters at Basse Terre. Like Martinique, Guadaloupe is represented in Paris by a Senator and two Deputies. As in France, the Communes have extensive powers of levying rates and taxes, and these are expended on local improvements, but how the money is expended it is hard to say; bribery and corruption are as rife in the colony as in the metropolis, and there is certainly little show for the vast sums the municipalities have wasted in the last quarter of a century.

* *See* p. 148.

Each Commune is presided over by a Mayor, who has by his side two or more Adjoints, and a certain number of Municipal Councillors, elected by the suffrages of their fellow-townsmen. Local taxation, as the following table shows, falls heavily on the people :—

Commune.	Inhabitants.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Number of Members returned to Conseil Général.
		Francs.	Francs.	
Deshaies	—	11,615	11,045	—
Pointe Novie	—	30,661	30,661	2
Bouillante	—	30,381	30,381	—
Habitants	—	24,835	24,835	—
Baillif	—	16,149	16,149	—
Saint Claude	—	39,300	39,300	—
Basse Terre	8,178	126,205	126,205	4
Gourbeyre	—	22,238	22,192	—
Vieux Fort	—	12,190	12,160	—
Trois Rivières	—	34,222	34,222	—
Capesterre	—	118,700	118,700	4
Goyave	—	12,329	12,329	—
Petit Bourg	—	38,315	38,315	—
Baie Mahault	—	33,690	33,690	—
Lamentin	—	46,701	46,670	4
Sainte Rose	—	46,432	46,432	—
Pointe-à-Pitre	—	389,834	389,834	8
Gosier	—	19,750	19,750	—
Abimes	—	57,210	57,210	—
Morne à l'Eau	—	64,742	64,742	—
Canal	—	67,175	67,175	—
Port Louis	—	58,053	58,053	3
Anse Bertrand	—	32,700	32,700	—
Moule	—	101,055	100,934	4
Sainte Anne	—	66,060	65,773	—
Saint François	—	60,216	60,216	1
Marie Galante (Grand Bourg)	6,732	57,010	56,990	4
Marie Galante (Capesterre)	4,811	28,670	28,670	
Marie Galante (St. Louis.)	4,184	26,735	26,735	
Desirade	2,000	11,081	11,081	—
Saintes	2,000	16,409	16,409	—
St. Martin	3,371	20,016	20,016	1
St. Bartholomew	2,400	16,944	26,944	1
		1,737,623	1,732,396	

Giving a total amount of municipal taxation of £69,505.

Education.—As yet the laicization of the primary schools has not been effected in Guadaloupe; the schools for younger boys, which afford instruction to 5,967, are under the super-

intendence of the Frères of the Saint Esprit, and those for the girls, where 4,566 receive their education, are conducted by the Sœurs of Saint Joseph de Cluny. These schools are inspected by officials from the Department of Public Instruction, now it is in contemplation to extend the system of laicization to the colony; indeed, at Saint Martin, the schools are already removed from the Frères. There is no higher education obtainable in the island except through private sources; but it has been determined to construct a Lycée, and the building for this is already in progress.

Clergy.—In 1859 Guadaloupe was converted into a Bishopric, and subordinated to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux: the episcopal seat is at Basse Terre. There are sixty-three priests in the diocese, these being recruited from the Séminaire of the Saint Esprit. Two Protestant pastors, paid by the State, are allotted to Saint Martin and St. Bartholomew; but already it is in contemplation to sever the connection between Church and State and relieve the Budget of the heavy burden the payment of religious officials imposes upon it.

Public Works.—This department is confided to an official drawn from the Ponts et Chaussées in France, who is assisted in his labours by twenty-eight subordinates, their salaries amounting to £4,920.

A Lycée at Pointe-à-Pitre, a lunatic asylum and a hospital at Saint Martin, are in course of construction, whilst plans are being drawn up for the drainage of Pointe-à-Pitre, which has gained an unenviable notoriety for those evils common to all French towns outside Paris, and from which the capital itself is not free.

For the maintenance of roads, cleansing of the harbours, construction and repair of colonial buildings, the Local Budget in 1884 voted a sum of £32,000.

Cultivation.—Like its sister island, Guadaloupe is essentially a sugar-producing colony, but efforts also have been made, from the earliest days of its European occupation, to develop other valuable products, such as cocoa, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and spices; but the protectionist policy of France, abroad as well as at home, stifles commerce; in the last

few years there has been a material diminution of trade, and the output of the various plantations, except in those devoted to cocoa, has sensibly fallen off.

The total acreage of Guadaloupe and its dependencies may be thus summed up :—

Guadaloupe proper . . .	236,978 acres
Grande Terre	163,078 „
Marie Galante	37,317 „
Desirade	6,800 „
Les Saintes	4,413 „
Saint Martin	12,942 „
Saint Bartholomew . . .	4,500 „
	466,028 „

And this again may be subdivided :—

79,258 Acres devoted to the Cultivation of Sugar, Cocoa, Coffee, Cotton, &c.
25,000 Acres to Agriculture.
35,000 „ Swampy Land.
112,000 „ Forest Land capable of partial development.
251,258 „ Uncultivated Ground, 68,000 of which have fallen into disuse.

The following table shows the present position of affairs in Guadaloupe, and having been enabled to obtain statistics of the output in former years, I have produced these in support of my statement that the condition of the colony is one of retrogression :—

	Sugar.		Cocoa.		Cotton.	
	Acreage.	Output.	Acreage.	Output.	Acreage.	Output.
		lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
1789	—	—	—	—	22,193	—
1835	—	—	—	61,600	2,557	—
1875	—	—	—	259,600	1,545	35,200
1876	—	—	—	—	915	46,20
1877	—	—	—	—	—	—
1878	—	—	—	598,400	—	—
1879	—	—	—	327,640	—	—
1880	—	—	—	226,600	712	27,800
1881	64,278	61,637,000	1,000	362,629	1,100	126,159
1882	60,816	54,826,000	1,300	421,836	860	43,412

	Coffee.		Roucou.		Tobacco.	
	Acreage.	Output.	Acreage.	Output.	Acreage.	Output.
		lbs.		lbs.		lbs.
1789	20,000	8,162,000	—	—	—	—
1835	13,005	—	—	—	—	8,140
1875	8,000	1,581,800	—	891,000	—	46,200
1876	9,313	1,669,200	—	—	—	—
1877	9,177	1,733,600	—	—	—	—
1878	9,962	1,742,400	—	—	—	35,200
1879	10,009	996,000	—	972,400	—	31,316
1880	10,325	190,300	—	1,245,200	—	26,400
1881	12,062	2,046,000	—	1,260,600	—	6,600
1882	11,248	1,876,431	840	1,312,517	—	7,200

From the above it will be seen that sugar is by far the most profitable industry. It is estimated that the capital sunk in it amounts to—

Land under Cultivation	£2,560,000
Plant	2,080,000
Animals employed	400,000
	5,040,000

In 1881 the output of the 64,278 acres was—

Raw Sugar . . .	40,101,120 lbs.	value £335,391
Molasses . . .	1,323,014 gallons	„ 84,192
Rum	429,968 „	„ 62,560

The agricultural produce of the island is of no note, being insufficient for local necessities. Its total annual value is estimated at £60,000.

Commerce.—The commerce of the country is summarized in the following tabular statements :—

	Imports to	Exports from	Total.
	£	£	£
France	473,583	857,844	1,331,427
French Colonies	54,348	7,012	61,360
Other Countries	487,516	407,524	895,040
	1,015,447	1,272,380	2,287,827

The principal Export being sugar, of which the following movements were recorded :—

Exported to France	£701,037
„ Foreign Countries	401,981

The chief Imports being—

Wines and Spirits	£75,959
Cotton Goods	56,822
Leather Goods	100,659
Dried Cod	28,882
Flour	77,875
Rice	68,416
Guano and other Manures	43,201

The Shipping movements during the year 1881 were as follows:—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
From or for France	116	26,890	151	32,789
From or for French Colonies	68	7,926	47	5,860
From or for Foreign Ports	275	Tonnage not given.	251	Tonnage not given.

Finances.—Like all the other colonies of France, the resources of Guadaloupe are not enough to meet the necessary expenditure, and heavy contributions are made by the Minister of Marine:—

LOCAL BUDGET.

The total amount produced by Local Taxation, irrespective of the sums raised by the Municipal Authorities, amounted to		£181,968
The principal items being—		
Registration of Deeds, Stamps, &c.	£20,000	
House Tax	9,100	
Land Tax	12,800	
Licence Tax	7,880	
Import Duties	40,000	
Export Duties	40,000	
*Funds supplied in Budget of the Minister of Marine		161,630
		£342,598

* The details of this sum will be found in Appendix No. 1.

Taxation.—If we add the Contributions Directes to the municipal levies we arrive at an average rate of taxation of £1 9*s.* 1*d.*

Garrison.—The garrison of Guadaloupe consists of five companies of the Infantry of Marine, one of Marine Artillery, a company of the Discipline troops, and one of Gendarmerie—in all about 1,200 men; there is also a squadron of three vessels told off for the defence of this and its sister island of Martinique, with a total of 48 officers and 785 men.

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH GUIANA.

Its Present Condition—Discovery and Early French Settlements—Their Failure—Its Inauguration as a Penal Colony during the Revolution—Captured by the British in 1807—Restored by Treaty of Paris, 1815—Fresh Attempts under the Restoration to Colonize Cayenne—Population — Education — Government and Administration — Justice—Public Works—Agriculture—Arboriculture—Cattle Raising—Gold-mining — Commerce — Comparison with British Guiana — Finance—Garrison and Defence.

FRENCH Guiana, bounded as it is by the British and Dutch colonies of the same name, stands out a striking illustration of the inability of the French to comprehend the art of colonizing; its past history fraught with mismanagement, its present condition a penal settlement destitute of commerce, its future pregnant with financial disaster, all point to the same moral.

The boundaries of the colony are by no means clearly defined. On its western frontier the River Maroni forms a sufficient border line between French and Dutch Guiana, but endless bickerings between France and Brazil testify to the necessity of a rectification, or at any rate of a demarcation, of the eastern boundary. Of its exact area we are equally ignorant. Whilst M. Foncin estimates it at 50,000 square miles, M. Jules Duval considers it to be fully twice as large. There is one point, however, in connection with the colony upon which all French writers are agreed, and that is that the occupation of Guiana by France has been one long conspicuous and humiliating failure.

M. Leroy Beaulieu writes:* "Upon the continent we are undoubtedly in a condition vastly inferior to that enjoyed by other

* "La Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes." Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

nations—the English and the Dutch for instance. Guiana is a proof. We, the first arrivals in these regions, permitted both the English and the Dutch to seize the most fertile lands, whilst we have only been able to establish a settlement of a very inferior nature, sparsely inhabited and languishing for want of trade, whilst our two rivals, England and Holland, have founded two wealthy and prosperous colonies."

M. Jules Duval is equally strong:—"By a fatal combination of circumstances Guiana remains the most despised and the least populous of all our agricultural colonies, whilst at the same time it is the largest in extent, and certainly the richest in the variety of its vegetation. With a surface of 16,000 or 18,000 square leagues—half the area of France—it possesses only some 20,000 inhabitants, and its exports, amounting to about 800,000 francs, are much the same as they were a hundred years ago. It costs France upwards of 2,000,000 francs annually, either in the expenses of its administration or in subvention to its Local Budgets, without in return offering the mother country any outlet for her markets, or any important and valuable importations. It alone of all our colonies has never raised itself from the depth into which it was plunged by the abolition of slavery, though it has received vast pecuniary subsidies to enable it to emerge from its many crises. At the same time, we see Dutch Guiana and British Guiana (and such examples are humiliating enough to our national pride) rich and prosperous despite the rough experiences they have undergone. The reason is not far to seek; it is that we attempt to violate the laws of nature and learn nothing from the lessons of experience."*

Discovered in 1498 by Christopher Columbus, the coasts of Guiana, although fabled with countless riches, attracted but few adventurers until, in the year 1604, M. La Revardére, a Breton shipowner, brought back to Granville marvellous tales of its boundless riches and wealth. During the ensuing forty years many vessels were fitted out in the harbours of Brittany and Normandy for the express purpose of culling the fruits which La Revardére had so glowingly depicted; and Richelieu in this, as in other cases, granted liberal pecuniary aid to the founders of

* "Les Colonies et la Politique Coloniale de la France."

the Company established under his auspices for the development of colonization on the banks of the Orinoco and the Amazon. The swampy nature of the low-lying lands and the innumerable watercourses, which rendered cultivation difficult, presented difficulties before which our light-hearted neighbours quailed, and before long the Dutch and the English, more painstaking and more thorough, had established themselves on the soil abandoned by the French, leaving to the latter the less fertile and more broken territories to the south of the Maroni river. The earlier colonists made haste to get rich, and they did not possess sufficient energy to overcome the obstacles in their way, or sufficient acumen to recognize what these obstacles were. A network of roads and canals were essential to the proper development of the colony, but the settlers did not care to spend their money—and for the most part they were destitute of capital—in what to them would be unproductive public works. *Après moi le déluge* has ever been the cry of the French colonist. The State, far from encouraging the colonists in a true course of development, by advancing money for necessary public works, wasted large sums in enabling the settlers to purchase cattle, tools, and even slaves; but when once the plantations were stocked it was found impossible to transport their produce to the coast, or to maintain communication between the inland settlements and the seaports. Company after Company organized on the same lines died in infancy, the capital being swallowed up owing to the rapacity of the State officials. Military works were considered of primary importance, and for many years the many millions of francs advanced by the Crown were wasted in the construction of fortifications which rendered the town of Cayenne almost uninhabitable. Yet these battlements afforded it no defence when attacked by the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, for French Guiana has fallen successively into the hands of all these Powers. The most energetic of all settlers, viz., the Jews and Huguenot émigrés, who were chased first from France and then from French colonies, fled from Cayenne to Surinam, thus placing their talents, which were considerable, at the disposal of the Dutch, and depriving French Guiana of the very elements it most needed.

In the reign of Louis XV. the Duc de Choiseul made a fresh effort to revive the fallen fortunes of Guiana. Canada and Louisiana had been lost by the Treaty of Paris, and the eyes of France were averted for very shame from the Northern and turned to the Southern Continent of America. With a true regard for his own interests, that statesman obtained for members of his own family a concession under very favourable conditions. The concession might, indeed, be termed a grant of the whole country. Then availing himself of State aid, which was liberally placed at his disposal, he despatched from 12,000 to 15,000 unfortunates to occupy the valley of the Kouron, a district virtually unknown, and practically uninhabitable by Europeans. The result was as might have been foreseen—as was indeed foretold by all who possessed any experience of South America. Landed in a country in which no preparation whatever had been made for them, they perished miserably like flies, the wealthier only escaping to France. The disastrous attempt cost the State over two millions sterling.

In 1778 M. Malonet was deputed to visit Cayenne with a view to inaugurating the new colonial system instituted by Turgot and Necker. Loyal efforts were made by this gentleman to carry out his sovereign's instructions, and attempts were made to copy the Dutch system of canals and irrigation. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the French Revolution put an end to all reforms, and the injudicious proclamations of universal equality led to conflicts between white and black, which effectually ruined the good work commenced by Malonet, and threw the colony once more into ruin and anarchy. The insalubrity of the climate had long been notorious. Of the 15,000 unfortunates whom the Duc de Choiseul had deported there in the reign of Louis XV., it was computed that the whole had perished miserably in three years. Cayenne consequently was looked upon as a suitable and economical depôt for the transportation of the victims of the Revolution. With that refinement of cruelty for which the authors and principal actors in that Reign of Terror have been renowned, French Guiana was selected as the future home of Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Pichegru, and of many other notables who offended either against the laws of the Directory or the

Empire. Their sojourn in this terrible climate was a short one; death soon ended the sufferings of those who thus experienced the clemency of the Revolutionary leaders.

Cut off from regular communication with the mother country, the wilder spirits of the colony, ever renowned as a nest of piracy, betook themselves to their old calling, and they succeeded in inflicting considerable damage on the English shipping on the one hand, on the Portuguese shipping on the other. The House of Braganza, when ousted from Lisbon by the action of Napoleon in invading Portugal, had taken refuge in Brazil; and as in Europe England and the Portuguese were successfully pushing back Bonaparte from the Iberian peninsula, so in South America the two nations organized an equally successful expedition against the distant colonies of their common foes. Early in December, 1808, two Portuguese brigs of war, having on board a detachment of 500 men, accompanied by the British frigate *Confiance*, a converted French prize, succeeded in landing without opposition at the mouth of the Oyapock river. Thus encouraged, it was determined to make an attack on Cayenne, the capital of the colony, a fortified town capable of affording some resistance. On the 6th of January, aided by a favourable wind, the *Confiance* stood in to the harbour, and, after a brisk cannonade, succeeded in silencing the guns of the sea-forts, thus enabling the Portuguese troops and some British Marines and Blue-jackets, in all about 600 men, to be disembarked. The French troops were so superior in numbers to the invading forces, and the Portuguese had shown such an evident disinclination to meet them in fair fight, unless well supported by their British comrades, that Captain Yest of the *Confiance*, feeling it would be injudicious to weaken his numbers by garrisoning the captured forts, dismantled them and pushed on to Beauregard, where the Governor, Victor Hugues, had taken up a strong position to cover Cayenne. After an obstinate conflict, in which the brave old Republican leader showed more than his usual dogged gallantry, the allies were victorious. Following up their success by a vigorous pursuit, on the 14th January they had the proud satisfaction of hoisting the British colours on the walls of Cayenne. One thousand prisoners and eighty

cannon were the trophies of the victors, whose total losses amounted to about sixty killed and wounded. Too much credit cannot be given to Yest for his spirited conduct in thus venturing to push on against a fortified town though unprovided with artillery of any sort.

It was this boldness—boldness akin to rashness—which characterized our naval officers in the wars of the early part of the century, and which won for them the unshaken confidence of their compatriots, and for their country a series of triumphs, the lustre of which remains undimmed to this day.

After the capture of Cayenne the British Commander withdrew his forces, handing over the colony to the Portuguese, who continued to administer it until the year 1817, when, in conformity with the terms of the Treaty of Paris, it was restored to the French.

Undeterred by previous failures, the French Government, immediately after receiving the island in 1817, made a fresh effort to revive colonization in Cayenne. This time the valley of the Mana was selected as the graveyard of several hundred mechanics, who were shipped off under the most specious promises to seek for wealth in the fœtid marshes of French Guiana. Conflicts between the officials of the new venture and the older colonists were not slow in developing themselves, and ere five years had elapsed the colony on the Mana was effaced as effectually as that on the Kouron had been.

The emancipation of the slaves in 1848 struck a final blow at the colony, already dying of inanition. The liberated blacks evinced a degree of independence against which the emasculated whites could not stand. *En masse* the negroes deserted the distant plantations to reside in the coast towns, where food was cheaper and their life one of greater freedom and liberty. Every effort was made by the Local Government to counteract this movement. The negroes, though blessed with universal suffrage, were not allowed to be absent from their domicile for a single night without a passport, and double taxes were imposed on those residing in towns. Attempts, too, were made to introduce coolies from the East Indies, and these for a time

by their labour, practically free, so small are the wages given to the Indian immigrant, saved French Guiana from the ruin which threatened to overwhelm it.

Population.—For its area French Guiana is one of the most sparsely populated, as it is one of the poorest and most insalubrious colonies in the world. According to the most recent returns, viz., the census papers of 1881, the population was constituted in the following manner :—

Civil Officials	235
Garrison	1,020
Members of Religious Orders	113
Aboriginal Indians	1,972
Refugees from Brazil	315
Local Population	16,874
Coolies from Hindostan	2,673
„ Africa	373
„ China and Annam	96
Convicts on Ticket Leave	1,274
Officials of the Penal Establishment	468
Convicts	3,420
	28,832

This population being again thus divided—

	Males.	Females.	
Adults	14,193	10,165	
Under 14	2,285	2,189	
	16,478	12,354	28,832

The changes in the condition of the population during the last three years of which there are returns, give—

	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.
1879	72	441	798
1880	75	482	802
1881	84	456	870

As the system of registration of births and deaths in country districts is very defective, owing to the scattered nature of the

population, and as the returns do not include those of the penal establishment, it may safely be assumed that the death-rate has been upwards of 40 per 1,000 during the period 1879–1881, whilst the average of births has been fully 10 per 1,000 below that.

Education.—Primary education is gratuitous. It has been undertaken for a long period of years by the Frères de Ploërmel for boys, and the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny for girls. There are six schools under the guardianship of these religious orders, giving instruction to a total of 1,118 children.

Secondary education was for many years given in a college under the supervision of the Frères de Saint Esprit, but the decrees of the Senate of 1882 suppressed this institution, replacing it by a college, the professors of which were furnished by the Department of Public Education in France. In addition to this college the colony provides four scholarships for its most deserving pupils, who are sent to France to complete their education. One of these scholarships is at the Veterinary College in Paris.

Government and Administration.—The colony of French Guiana is administered in the same manner as Martinique, Guadaloupe, &c.—that is to say, the Governor is assisted in his functions by a Conseil Privé, consisting of all the senior State officials and two of the principal inhabitants, one named by the President of the Republic, one by the Governor himself. Guiana being a penal colony, the head of the convict establishment is *ex-officio* a member of this Council. The Conseil Contentieux and Conseil Général are constituted in the same manner as in the other colonies in the same category, with the exception that the number of members in the latter is sixteen, not thirty-six: these are elected by universal suffrage.

The colony is divided into eleven Communes, each of which is presided over by a Maire, assisted by a Municipal Council; one of these Communes, however, comprises the penal establishment of Maroni, which is not endowed with municipal institutions. The various Communes are thus grouped:—

Circonscription.	Commune.	Members returned to Conseil Général.
First	Oyapock Approuague	2
Second . . .	Tour de l'Ile Ile de Cayenne Roura	3
Third	Tonnegrande Montsinéry Macouria	2
Fourth	Kouron Sinnamary	1
Fifth	Traconboo Mana	1
Sixth	Cayenne, Town of Maroni	6

Justice.—After passing through many phases, the civil and criminal administration of Cayenne has at last been established on the same basis as in the other colonies of France. Courts of Appeal, and Tribunals of the First Instance, were constituted in 1854, but it was only in 1882 that Juges de Paix were nominated to certain Communes. The various Codes of Procedure in force in France have been made applicable to Cayenne, with a few very necessary modifications having reference to the different nature of the population.

The statistics of the various Courts do not show that love of litigation which floods the Courts in other dependencies; the total number of cases appearing before all Courts being 1,239 in the last year for which returns are available:—

	Civil Cases.	Commercial.	Criminal.	Minor Police Offences.
Court of Appeal .	9	2	20	246
Tribunal of the First Instance . .	150	50	...	...
Eight Courts of Juges de Paix . .	292	...	...	470

Public Works.—Efforts are being made to develop the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country by opening up great

arteries of commerce, but the revenues of the colony do not admit of any large sums being spent upon public works; consequently their progress is slow. In 1881 only £12,000 was voted for this purpose by the Conseil Général, and of this sum £1,780 is expended in salaries of officials. Though the various municipalities are alive to the necessities of the case, but little is done by them towards improving the means of communication in Guiana. Owing to the nature of the country, which is cut up by innumerable streams, and to the heavy rainfall, which necessitates constant repairs to roads and bridges, the Local Government finds the sum accorded for public works scarcely more than sufficient to maintain in a serviceable condition the existing roads and canals; little can be done towards the construction of new works.

Agriculture.—Nature has divided Guiana into three distinct zones—the highlands, or mountainous region, to which the wealthier colonists retreat during the summer season, and the soil of which, though fertile, is so wooded as to render cultivation difficult and expensive; the lowlands, composed of vast alluvial deposits, pierced by innumerable rivers, fertile to excess, but in consequence of the labyrinth of watercourses, and the fatal miasma arising from them, unhealthy to live in and expensive to control; the prairies, which, intervening between the mountain and the sea, afford grazing ground for large herds of cattle. Here, again, the humidity of the atmosphere interferes with the produce of the soil; for though the grass of these prairies is fair to look upon, and although the indigenous cattle thrive upon it, the moisture it imbibes deprives it of much of its nourishment, and horses have to be fed on hay imported from Europe, the average cost of which is £12 to £13 a ton.

The cultivation of these zones is again clearly marked—in the highlands, forestry, for Guiana has a considerable export trade in the more valuable sorts of woods; in the lowlands, sugar, roucou, coffee, cotton, &c., whilst the broad, undulating plains are reserved for the rearing of cattle.

Population.—The population in the same manner have

divided themselves into three classes; the upper classes look down with contempt on all who meddle with anything less aristocratic than sugar-cane; the smaller proprietors throw their energies into the cultivation of roucou, coffee, cocoa, cotton, and spices; whilst the common people content themselves with growing vegetables, or, in the absence of a small patch of soil, are willing to undertake manual labour.

Guiana was essentially a sugar-producing colony, though various causes are at work here as elsewhere to destroy this industry. In the year 1726 there were but twenty plantations in the country; in 1837 there were forty-four; and at the present day there are but fifteen. Capital and credit alike are necessary for sugar cultivation, and these are both wanting in Guiana. The climate is not tempting for the wealthy capitalist, and the business is too speculative a one for the local banks to care to make heavy advances to men of straw on the very doubtful security of a French sugar plantation. In its best days the exports from Guiana never exceeded five and a half million pounds; to-day it is less than three hundred thousand pounds.

In Guiana sugar has found a formidable rival in roucou, a small shrub almost unknown elsewhere, and which, I believe, is indigenous to the country. From its fruit the natives extract a dye, with which they deepen the reddish tint of their skins. Profiting by this, the colonists have developed a rising trade with Europe in this commodity, which now is largely used in colouring silken, woollen, and cotton goods. In 1826 the number of plantations devoted to the cultivation of this plant was but eighty-six; to-day there are over 300. The plant is exceedingly hardy, is in full bearing in its third year, and continues to give a good crop until its twentieth: the output varies from 660 to 1,900 lbs. per acre. A steam manufactory has recently been erected in Cayenne for the extraction of the dye from the raw plant, thus obviating the expense of its manufacture in Europe; and it has been found that the juice from the fresh plant is far more lasting in its tints than that which has suffered from a sea voyage.

Coffee, cocoa, and cotton are amongst the other products of the country; the former was introduced from Surinam about the year 1716. Cocoa-trees grow in the interior of the colony, where they attain a considerable size; but it was only in the year 1728 that their cultivation was seriously attempted, and, owing to the superior hardiness of the cocoa-tree over the coffee plant, more attention has in recent years been paid to it: the two shrubs begin bearing about their fifth year, though they do not attain their full vigour until their eighth; but the cocoa continues to bear fruit for twenty-five or thirty years, whilst the coffee plant does not last more than half that period.

Cotton is indigenous to the soil, and the natives cultivate inferior qualities in great quantities; unfortunately, the extreme humidity of the lowlands is as unfavourable to the better sorts as also is the soil of the highlands, and this, added to the superior climate of the United States, which permits more vigorous labour on the plantations, has tended to the deterioration of this industry. Twenty years ago, during the American War of Secession, Guiana reaped a rich cotton harvest, over 600,000 lbs. being annually exported; now the exports do not reach a tenth of that amount.

Cloves form another important item in the wealth of the colony. It is asserted that one Poivre, Intendant of the islands of Mauritius and Réunion in the year 1777, commissioned three men, an official of the old East India Company, named Prevost, and two sailors—Trémigon, a hardy Malouine, and Etchevery—to obtain by purchase, fraud, or force, some plants of cloves and nutmegs from the Dutch planters of the Malaccas. At the risk of their lives, Poivre's employés in two successive voyages succeeded in carrying off by stealth a number of plants, which were distributed throughout the islands of Mauritius, Réunion, Martinique, and Guadaloupe: a further supply was sent to Guiana, and in the neighbourhood of Cayenne it flourished exceedingly. In the year 1837 the total exports amounted to 225,000 lbs., valued at about £25,000, whereas at the present day the value of the exports is not £600.

	Sugar.		Roucou.		Coffee.	
	Acreage	Output.	Acreage	Output.	Acreage	Output.
	acres.	lbs.		lbs.	acres.	lbs.
1835	...	...	...	560,000	...	192,800
1837	1,250	...	...	1,000,000	...	...
1875	...	...	...	...	960	84,920
1879	...	...	...	...	1,330	57,000
1880	...	...	...	...	1,000	179,000
1881	1,250	1,100,000	...	...	1,035	47,000

Arboriculture.—The mountain slopes of Guiana are richly clad with forests of valuable trees, useful alike for building and for the more expensive sorts of furniture. The form of Government, which stifles every enterprise, and the lack of energy on the part of the inhabitants, has caused the trade to dwindle away. The magnificent exhibits of the woods from Guiana in the Exposition Universelle of 1878, created a fresh impetus in this industry; but the absence of roads, or even of water transport, the lack of saw-mills, and the poverty of the population, in money and spirit, prevents any great resuscitation in the export of woods. In 1835 the value of exports amounted to £10,000, in 1881 it did not reach £2,000.

Cattle-raising.—I have alluded to the rich plains which lie between the foot of the mountain slopes and the sea as being admirably adapted for cattle-raising. Unfortunately, the exportation of cattle is forbidden by the French Government, and the population of the colony being so sparse, there is no sale in Guiana for the numbers that might be raised on these practically boundless prairies. At one period efforts were made to develop the industry, and some good beasts were imported into the colony. The want of a ready sale, however, threw such a damper over the enterprise, that all further efforts were abandoned, and now cattle, even for the support of the penal establishment, have to be imported from Brazil. This is the more to be regretted, as colonists in neighbouring States are making rapid fortunes by cattle-raising, which they find an economical and most profitable employment.

Gold-mining.—In the year 1878 the action of certain Paris-

ian capitalists, who flooded London with the most outrageous statements as to the auriferous wealth of Guiana, cast a certain amount of discredit on the value of recent discoveries in the colony. Tradition has placed El Dorado on the borders of a mysterious lake, Parmia, in the depths of the forests of Guiana, and from the earliest days we have evidence confirmed by actual proof of the presence of rich auriferous deposits in the various mountain districts of the colony. An expedition under the auspices of the local Government published, about the year 1837, a most favourable report on discoveries actually made in the valley of the Approuague, and in the same year a concession was granted to a Parisian capitalist of a tract of land, embracing an area of 500,000 acres, for a period of twenty-five years. In the first four years the Company had forwarded to France 7,600 ounces of gold, all obtained from alluvial washings. These results caused a sudden outbreak of gold fever, and at the present moment there are upwards of eighty-eight mines in working order, the total exports last year being 61,838 ounces.

Commerce.—In regarding the area of the colony of French Guiana, its commerce appears feeble in the extreme; but when we realize that just one-half of the imports, and five-eighths of the imports and exports combined, are for the use of the garrison and convict establishments, and that the expenditure of the colony is one-half of its total commercial movement, one is not surprised to learn that the French have offered the colony, at a very moderate figure, to Brazil, Holland, and England, nor can one be surprised that all these countries have respectfully declined to purchase it at any cost.

Recent returns give the following movements:—

	Exports to France.	Imports from France.
1876	£12,489	£224,100
1877	11,211	213,791
1878	11,774	205,314
1879	12,280	204,240
1880	22,075	210,571

And in the year 1881, the last for which detailed returns are

available, we find that the total commercial movement just exceeds £400,000, viz. :—

Imports from France . .	£258,833	
„ French Colonies .	4,688	
„ Foreign Countries .	113,651	
		377,172
Exports to France . . .	£29,870	
„ French Colonies . .	20	
„ Foreign Countries .	3,875	
		33,765
		£410,937

The principal items of Importation being—

Salt Meat	£13,596
Salt Butter	4,261
Suet	8,173
Rice	6,817
Wines and Spirits	58,607
Cotton Goods	7,338

These being destined chiefly for the use of the troops.

The Shipping movements in the colony are inconsiderable, the principal carrying trade being in the hands of the English : fifty per cent. of the vessels entering the port sail under the Union Jack. According to the returns for the year 1881, the numbers entered and cleared were as under :—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
From or for France . .	43	14,698	9	2,671
„ French Colonies .	13	7,635	21	9,800
„ Other Countries .	51	of these 16 had a tonnage of 4,217.	68	of these 30 were of an aggregate tonnage of 10,993.

As the colonies of British and French Guiana are contiguous, and are of nearly the same area, it may be of interest to compare their present condition. Such a comparison proves, more than words can express, the difference in the results obtained

by the two countries, under absolutely similar climatic difficulties:—

	French Guiana.	British Guiana.
Area	100,000	76,000
Population	27,000	252,286
Revenue	£65,693	£403,245
Expenditure	£257,852	£421,087
Tonnage Entered and Cleared	49,914 tons	519,581 tons
Imports	£377,172	£1,784,145
Exports	£33,765	£2,597,291
Customs Revenue	£26,836	£214,451

Finances.—As in the other colonies under French rule, so do we find Guiana largely dependent on the mother country for support, its annual expenditure in 1885 being just three times its revenue, the deficiency being supplied from home. It may be thus summarized:—

Expenditure provided for by Local Budget	£65,693
*By Budget of Minister of Marine	192,159
	£257,852

The principal items of Receipts in the Local Budget are:—

Licence Tax	£2,800
House Tax	1,320
Weights and Measures	76
Customs Dues	26,836

Garrison and Defences.—The garrison of the colony consists of—

Six Companies of the Infantry of the Marine,
Half Battery of Artillery of the Marine,
One Company of Gendarmerie of Marine.

And the Naval services are provided for by two small paddle-wheel despatch boats.

* Details of this Expenditure are given in Appendix No. 1.

CHAPTER X.

SAINT PIERRE AND MIQUELON.

Early Occupation by France of Canada and Newfoundland—The Fishing Fleets of St. Pierre and Miquelon—Population—Government and Administration—Justice—Education—Public Works—Agriculture and Commerce—Finances.

Of all the possessions which in the opening years of the eighteenth century enhanced the grandeur of France none were more prized, none more valuable, than those in North America. In Nova Scotia, in Newfoundland, and Canada, in the basin of the Mississippi, and in Mexico, her flag covered more territory than that belonging to England, Spain, and Holland. Ere the close of the century, all that remained to her were the small islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, off the coast of Newfoundland; and now, in the wane of the nineteenth century, we still find the colonial possessions of France in North America restricted to these barren rocks. For close on four hundred years they have been the resort of the hardy fishermen of the Basque and Breton coasts, the training-ground for the best seamen France has ever possessed. Like her other colonies, these islands are interwoven in the history of every war which has been waged between France and England; in each successive campaign they have passed into our hands, to be restored at each successive peace. All along the French littoral, from Dunkerque to St. Jean de Luz, there is not a hamlet which has not sent forth the prime of its youth to court danger, and to seek wealth on the dreary coasts of Newfoundland. The perils of the fisherman's calling are immortalized in the verses of the Basque and the Breton peasantry, and the gallantry of the Newfoundland privateers is still sung in

the 'tween decks of the miserable craft which annually put forth in fleets to the cod fisheries of Newfoundland.

As advanced posts to the fisheries of Newfoundland, these islands in the seventeenth century were of incalculable value, both stategically and commercially; and even when, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland was wrested from France, they remained a welcome port of refuge to the fishing fleets on the great banks, who found a ready market for their industry in Canada as in Europe. During the course of the operations in North America in 1778, a squadron under Admiral Montague was despatched to take possession of these islands, whose hardy inhabitants were causing much damage to English shipping. Their garrisons were too feeble to make any opposition, and by the terms of the capitulation arranged between the Governor and the Admiral, the whole population was transported to France. The Treaty of Versailles, in 1783, once more saw these isles restored to their French owners, and the inhabitants were conveyed back to their rocky homes at the expense of the State. Ten years later, on the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, England, mindful of the damage done to her commerce by the privateers of St. Pierre and Miquelon, inaugurated her colonial victories by their bloodless capture; but on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens again concluded an act of restitution. No sooner were Napoleon's real reasons for that hollow truce thoroughly gauged than orders were despatched to the Admiral commanding our fleets on the North American station to occupy these fishing islets, and in March, 1804, the Tricolour was replaced by the Cross of Saint George. The Treaty of Paris of 1815 restored them to France, and they now remain her sole possession in North American waters.

For more than three centuries the coasts of Newfoundland have been the principal source whence Catholic Europe derives its supplies of salt fish. It is true that on the coasts of Scotland and Norway, around Iceland, the Faroes, and Shetland, off the Dogger bank, and even so far south as the Canaries, the fish is caught in large quantities; but, in the face of all opposition, Newfoundland cod retains its popularity, and the

fleets which annually are fitted out in France, England, and the United States for the fisheries off the Newfoundland coasts are more numerous, more powerfully manned, and consist of larger craft than those employed in other waters. For the French fishing fleets St. Pierre and Miquelon offer a welcome harbour of refuge; during the summer months they are visited by numerous vessels from Basque, Breton, and Normandy ports, all destined for the banks of Newfoundland. These islands of recent years have done more than give shelter to fishing craft, for the naval squadron of the Antilles annually run northwards during the hot season, and the crews get invigorated by the fresh breezes from the Newfoundland banks. In fact, St. Pierre and Miquelon act as sanatoria for the vessels of war stationed in Martinique and Guadaloupe.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Basque provinces furnished the greater proportion of vessels for the Newfoundland fisheries, the little town of St. Jean de Luz being the principal port for this industry. In those days it was a flourishing city, its merchants ranked among the richest in the south of France, and their hôtels rivalled the palaces of Florence and Venice in the beauty of their architecture and the magnificence of their decorations. Every year a fleet of eighty vessels used to leave the harbour of St. Jean de Luz for the fisheries of Newfoundland: now the harbour is no more, the palaces are engulfed, and the town a cheap winter resort for those who dread the expenses of its sister rival, Biarritz. The sea, which made the fortune of its inhabitants, also proved their ruin; little by little it encroached on the defences art threw up to control nature; first the bar at the mouth of the Nivelle was destroyed, then the *digues*, constructed at an enormous expenditure of labour and money, were washed away. The genius of Vauban was called into requisition, and he, Canute-like, said to the waters of the Bay of Biscay, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." But the engineer whose work had defied a Marlborough, and whose name still ranks as the first of all defensive creators, was powerless against the omnipotent sea. Year by year the encroachments continued, until the Newfoundland fleet was compelled to seek more secure winter quarters

in the north of France. Bayonne gave shelter to some two or three vessels, and Bordeaux to five or six, but the heritage of the Basque fishermen was bestowed on their comrades of Brittany and Normandy.

The English traveller who, in the early spring, visits the harbours of these provinces, will be rewarded with a curious spectacle. In the harbours of St. Brieuc, Piampol, and Binic, in the Bay of St. Malo, and at Granville, Fecamp, and Dieppe, he will see craft of all sizes fitting out for their annual cruise. The larger rigs are few in number; some eight or ten barques, and not more than five or six full-rigged ships are included in the fleet; but brigs and brigantines, schooners, and even yawls are to be met with in fifties or sixties. Each craft has some distinguishing mark: a green foretopsail one, a brown maintop-gallant sail another, a coloured patch in the courses of a third, obviate the necessity of a code of signals. Stout old craft many of them are; but under the clauses of Mr. Chamberlain's proposed shipping bills, there are few that would not be stopped ere they started on their perilous voyage. Loaded to within a few inches of their main deck, destitute of copper-sheathing, crowded with small skiffs destined for line-fishing on the banks, the vessels look, as many of them are, practically unmanageable and absolutely unseaworthy. The virtue of thrift has in the French race degenerated into the vice of parsimony, and in order that the "armateur" may derive a rich harvest from his unseaworthy craft, each vessel carries a crowd of passengers or "consortés." I have seen eighty of these on a vessel of 148 tons, which, in addition, was lumbered up with seventeen fishing boats. The crew of such a craft consists of a captain, who by the French fishery laws is exempt from all examinations, and some twenty or thirty men, with a cabin boy to every ten hands. Many vessels start on their voyage with from two to three hundred souls on board. The navigation practised on board is of the rudest description, and the result is the most appalling loss of life. Never a season passes without the total loss of from eight or ten of the Newfoundland boats with all on board. Founderings from leaks are perhaps the most frequent causes of loss; but collisions with sister

craft or with icebergs are by no means uncommon. It is rare that a look-out is kept; still more rare, except when nearing the French coast, that lights are shown; and when, in a fit of Basque-like extravagance, the Breton skipper hangs out his side-lights, they are invariably either lashed to the mizen rigging or abaft of the mizen chains, where the steersman can attend to them without disturbing even the *mousse*.

As in whalers, the crews of the fishing fleet are paid according to the success of the voyage. Prior to starting, each able seaman obtains an advance of from 150 to 200 francs, which is handed over to wife or mother. The produce of the season's fishing, at the expiration of the voyage, is thus divided:—Four-sevenths goes to the owner, and three-sevenths to the crew. The three-sevenths is again subdivided into shares, of which the captain takes three, the mate two, each able seaman one, and a *mousse* half a share. The passage-money of the "consortés," who vary in number from 50 to 150, according to the size of the craft, is from £4 to £6, and, in addition to this, they are required to pay 100 francs as freight for their boats. On their return voyage they are allowed five quintals of dried fish as free luggage.

In order to encourage this industry, the French Government grant bounties of £2 to every man, whether sailor borne on the logs, or "consorté" embarked on board of the Newfoundland fishing-vessels, and a bounty of 8*s*. 4*d*. per cwt. (twenty francs per quintal) on all dry cod or cod's roe imported into France. In the year 1884, over £200,000 was allotted in the Budget as bounties to the fishermen of France.

Without the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the rich bounties which tempt the poverty-stricken fisherman to try a stroke of luck in the fishing fleets, the industry, so far as France is concerned, would perish. On reaching these harbours of refuge, the vessels destined for the nearer banks lie up for the summer months, whilst the crews and "consortés," set off in their little skiffs to prosecute their dangerous calling. Every few days, when sufficient fish have been caught, the boats return, and the cod are cleaned, dried, and salted on shore. On the more distant banks this operation is performed

on board, the vessels returning every now and again to the islands for fresh provisions and water, and to give the crew a run ashore.

Population.—The population of the islands may be divided into five classes—

1. The old residents, descendants of the fishermen who, ousted from Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, have since clung faithfully to their original calling on these barren rocks. These are, for the most part, sprung from the original Basque and Breton settlers in Nova Scotia—the Acadie of the French.
2. The "hivernants," or temporary French settlers, who have emigrated to the islands to pursue some trade or calling, generally in connection with the fishing interests, and who, when they have amassed their little fortune, return to their homes.
3. The "consortés," or annual visitors, fishermen by calling, thousands of whom arrive every spring, and who return in the autumn to France, carrying with them the proceeds of their industry.
4. Tradesmen, cabaretiers, employés in the various commercial firms which have branches in the islands.
5. Government officials.

According to the last census returns (1881), the population is thus divided :—

	Males.	Females.
Sedentary—Adults	1,330	1,263
„ Under 14	816	831
Floating—Officials	136	104
„ Troops	114	...
„ Gendarmes	29	12
„ Summer Visitors . .	120	...
„ Foreigners	293	496
	2,838	2,706

Giving a total population of 5,544 souls. The changes in the year 1881 were as follows :—

Marriages	33
Births	173
Deaths	82

These deaths only include those that actually occurred on the islands, and not those involved in the many shipwrecks which spread sorrow and desolation throughout the French coasts. No accurate returns of these are available; but in the loss of three vessels which have come under my own knowledge, in the the course of the year 1883, 373 fishermen have met a watery grave.

Government and Administration.—The islands are classed with those colonies unendowed with representative institutions. They are administered by a Governor, who is assisted in his functions by an official of the "Service de l'Interieur," and by one of the "Service Judiciare." All questions relating to the colony are discussed by a Council, consisting of the Governor as President, the two above-mentioned officials, and the officer commanding the troops, as members, together with three of the principal inhabitants, who are nominated members of the Governor's Council by the suffrages of the Municipal Councils of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

There are municipal institutions presided over by Mayors in the two Communes of St. Pierre and Miquelon, all local works being conducted under their authority and supervision. The revenues are swallowed up in local improvements, thus necessitating the payment by the mother country of a considerable sum, in order to maintain the equilibrium between receipts and expenditure.

In the year 1881, the Communal receipts were :—

Saint Pierre	£3,576
Miquelon	1,266
	£4,842

Justice.—The codes which govern the Civil and Criminal procedure in France have been made applicable to these islands, where a Court of Appeal, a Tribunal of the First Instance, and two Courts of Juges de Paix, sit to administer

justice. In all there are twenty-nine officials of various grades on the rolls of the Judicial establishment, but the returns of the Courts do not show them to be overburdened with work. During the year 1881 the cases they were called on to decide were—

	Civil Cases.	Commercial.	Criminal.	Minor Police Offences.
Court of Appeal .	19	8	...	...
Tribunal of the First Instance . .	198	...	27	...
Two Courts of Juges de Paix . .	40	...	...	33

Education.—The new rules as to the laicization of schools has not as yet been applied to the islands; the primary instruction for youths being entrusted to the Society of the Saint Esprit, that of the girls being undertaken by the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny.

In the four boys' schools 594 boys are educated, and in thirteen schools for girls 581 children.

There is a school also conducted by the same Frères, in which fifty-six boys receive higher education, and in this establishment the colonial expenditure provides for the payment of six pupils.

Public Works.—From time to time, the Budget of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies has provided for considerable expenditure in connection with the improvement of the means of navigation around the island. Lighthouses, provided with fog-horns, have been constructed on the Isle of Dogs, Sainte Plate, and at Cape Blanc, whilst the harbour at St. Pierre has been deepened, and commodious piers and landing stages built around it.

Agriculture.—The natural sterility of the soil of these islands has prevented any attempts on a large scale being made to develop their agricultural resources. The harvest of the inhabitants is reaped in the sea, and so long as their fields give them enough vegetables to afford a change in the diet of the crews of the fishing fleets, so long as their *landes* permit the

grazing of enough cattle to furnish them with fresh food during the year, and to realize a profit by their sale to the ships in the harbours, the population is content. The high downs on Miquelon afford good grazing ground, and considerable herds of cattle are met with on the island; but the climate, as well as the soil, forbids cultivation to any extent. Some few small farms are to be seen, these being generally devoted to the cultivation of vegetables. However, as only 2,500 acres are at present occupied, it is evident that the islanders do not look to their land as a source of wealth.

The more sheltered portions of the highlands of both islands are well wooded with a small species of spruce fir, from which the inhabitants brew a very agreeable kind of light ale, called *sapinette*. This beverage is much appreciated by the seamen on the fishing craft, and as it is as inexpensive as Breton cider, it is served out to them as a regular ration by order of the administration, its anti-scorbutic properties rendering it most valuable in these regions.

Although the climate of these islands is rigorous in the extreme, and in the winter months the cold is excessive, all out-door labour being suspended, yet the summers, owing to the proximity of the Gulf Stream, are genial, and this enables the inhabitants to make good and profitable employment of the few acres they devote to the cultivation of vegetables.

Commerce.—The sole commerce of the colony lies in its fisheries. Their produce is exported to every Catholic country in the world. The commercial statistics even of the most distant French colonies on the West Coast of Africa show how dependent the settlers are on the hardy fishermen of Brittany for the means of observing the tenets of their faith. £28,000 worth of dried cod are exported to Guadaloupe alone.

	Imports from	Exports to
France . .	. £9,452	£255,811
French Colonies .	. 1,510	57,008
Foreign Countries	. 255,181	86,195
	£266,143	£399,014

The principal items of Importation being—

Wine and Spirits	£15,124
Salt	9,645
Flour	41,178

The Exportation being—

Dried Cod in various forms	£298,746
Cod-Liver Oil	22,571

In the year 1881, 119 vessels, of a gross tonnage of 16,700, with crews numbering 2,203 men (exclusive of "consortés"), entered the harbour of St. Pierre and Miquelon, from the various French ports, for employment in the fisheries.

Though this industry, as far as these islands are concerned, is exclusively in French hands, the commerce is in the hands of foreigners, as the following statistics show—

	French Vessels.		Foreign Vessels.	
	No. of Craft.	Tonnage.	No. of Craft.	Tonnage.
Entered	94	13,536	1,026	545,238

Finances.—Although salt cod is in itself an inexpensive luxury, the cost of this edible in the market by no means represents the actual value to the French tax-payer. The fisheries of St. Pierre and Miquelon, when their size and commerce is considered, are very expensive appendages to the Republic.

The Budget is, of course, divided into two heads, viz., that provided for locally, and that which is included in the accounts of the Minister of Marine, the total expenditure exceeding £300,000 :—

Expenses provided for by Local Budget	£12,094
*Budget of Minister of Marine	*96,547
Budget of Minister of Commerce—	
Bounties on Imported Fish and to Fishermen	221,840
	£330,481

* Details of this sum will be found in Appendix No. 1.

CHAPTER XI.

MADAGASCAR.

Its Geographical Position known to the Ancients—Discovered by the Portuguese—First French Expedition in 1642—De Pronis and De Meilleraye settle on the Island—Flacourt annexes it to France—Failure of Attempts to Colonize—Re-attached to France—Jesuits step in to Proselytize Inhabitants—English Alliance with Radama I.—Island of St. Marie occupied by France—French Collision with Malagese in 1829—Constant Efforts of Jesuits to regain lost Ascendency — Laborde, Lastelle, and Finaz — French encourage Slavery—Occupation of Mohély—Radama II. and the French—His Religious Tolerance—His Death—Religious Intolerance of his Widow—Her Pretended Baptism and Death—Hostilities with France—Rivalry between France and England—Conduct of Admiral Pierre—Firmness of Lord Granville—Hostile Feeling in France towards England—Leroy Beaulieu on French Colonies—Their Danger to England.

DESPITE the Treaty of 1886, which bestows on France the power of controlling the foreign policy of the island, and cedes to her certain important points on the coast, it is somewhat premature to consider Madagascar a French colony. Yet our neighbours are never weary of proclaiming their indefeasible and imprescriptive rights over the island, and their actions during the years 1883–1886 certainly prove their evident determination to resume that nominal proprietorship which existed during the reign of Louis XIV.

A brief history of the island, dealing more particularly with the French connection, may not, then, be out of place.

This connection has been of long date, and although claims are laid by the more advanced advocates of a spirited colonial policy to the possession of the whole island, in virtue of a

formal annexation in the year 1644, yet until recently the French have only openly professed rights of sovereignty over the petty islets of Mayotte, Nossi Bé, and St. Marie de Madagascar.

The main island lies off the south-eastern coast of South Africa, from which it is separated by the Mozambique Channel. It is situated between the 11° 57′ and 25° 38′ parallels of south latitude, and 41° 20′ to 50° 31′ east longitude; it has an extreme length of about 1,030 with a breadth of 350 miles, its area being 232,000 square miles, and its population, according to different authorities, varies from two to five million souls. Grouped around it in mid-ocean lie the fertile islands of Mauritius, Réunion, Saint Marie, Nossi Bé, Nossi Faly, Nossi Mitsio, Mayotte, and the Comores, all of which, during the reign of Louis XVI., formed portions of the possessions of the French Crown; but Mauritius, the largest, richest, and most valuable of the group, which had been captured by us in 1809, was confirmed in our possession by the Treaty of Paris of 1814, under the terms of which we, on our part, restored to France Réunion (or Bourbon), which, together with Mauritius, had fallen into our hands, by right of conquest, in the year 1810.

It is asserted, and with some show of truth, that Madagascar was known to the ancients, and savants declare that both Pliny and Ptolemy refer to it under the various names of Phebol, Menuthia, and Cerné. That it was known to the early Arabian and Chinese navigators admits of little dispute. Edrisi, the famous Arab geographer, in his work on Nubia, mentions a personal visit to the island towards the end of the thirteenth century, when he found the commerce between Madagascar, its neighbouring islands and Asia in the hands of the Chinese, who, since the latter part of the ninth century, had been steadily engaged in trade with the Malagese. The Persians, who named it Serendib, also entered into commercial relations with the islanders, whom they found adepts in business matters, and well inclined towards strangers.

Marco Polo, on his return from China in 1298, also makes mention of the trade at that time existing between the island

and the Celestial Empire, and he is, I believe, the first known geographer who refers to it under its present name.

The connection between Europe and Madagascar dates from the commencement of the sixteenth century. For the rediscovery of the island we are indebted to those hardy navigators the Portuguese, whose skilful and intrepid commanders have paved the way to so much of England's commercial success. On the 10th August, 1506, a Portuguese squadron, *en route* for the East Indies, first sighted Madagascar, and its commander, Fernando Suarez, named it St. Laurent, in honour of the day. A few months later Tristan d'Acunha, another of those daring Portuguese voyagers, landed on the western shores of the island, ignorant of the fact that his compatriot had already hoisted his country's flag on the eastern coast. It was not, however, until 1540 that a small body of Portuguese missionaries established themselves on a little island just off the south-eastern extremity of the mainland. The open hostility of the islanders was soon evinced, attacks on the mission station were frequent, and finally the little band was compelled to return to Europe. The connection, however, between Portugal and Madagascar was by no means severed; from time to time vessels, on going to or returning from Goa, put in to the island in order to maintain commercial relations between the two countries, and, if possible, to re-establish a mission station. In 1615 the efforts of some monks from Goa were so far successful that the King of one of the southern States entrusted to them his only son, aged seventeen years, who was taken to the Mission College at Goa for his education. On his return, a few years later, a fresh attempt was made to open a station in the south, near the spot now known as Port Dauphin, but this again proved a failure.

Between the years 1618–1640, both the English and the Dutch made attempts to found settlements on the island. A company of traders belonging to the latter nation for some years actually succeeded in founding a settlement in the Bay of Antougil, on the north coast. Sickness, however, decimated them, commerce proved inadequate, and in the year 1640 the Dutch settlers left the island free for other explorers.

It was now the turn of France to step in, and in the year 1642, at the instigation of a naval officer, de Rigault, of Rochelle, a society was formed for the purpose of organizing a system of commerce between France and Asia. Richelieu, ever ready to aid in the material progress of his country, threw himself heart and soul into the undertaking, and with his all-powerful aid La Société d'Orient was established. Its object was to found French colonies in distant waters. Regardless of the rights of the owners of these far-off lands, His Most Christian Majesty granted concessions with no niggard hand to the new-born Company, and La Société d'Orient was endowed with the sole privilege of carrying on trade with Madagascar for a period of ten years.

Of this undertaking Charpentier writes :—

"The Cardinal indulged in the hope that our commerce would benefit largely from our connection with this island. He thought that our relationship with such a distant land would act very favourably on our mercantile marine, would increase the number of our sailors and of our ships, and would also tend to the development of trade. He also hoped that the island would serve as a powerful port of call for our fleets trading with India."

It was to develop Richelieu's plans that, on the 1st March, 1642, a little party of Norman sailors, under the leadership of M. de Pronis, embarked at Dieppe on board the good ship *Saint Louis* for the new colony. After six weary months of ocean buffeting the little barque sighted the promised land, and after many ineffectual visits to different spots on the coast, the colonists determined to land at Mangafiala, on the south-eastern corner of the island. Unfortunately, the anchorage being insecure, and a heavy gale springing up, the *Saint Louis* was driven ashore, her valuable cargo lost, and all means of communication with France cut off.

Months passed, and no news of the adventurers reached France. Speculation was rife as to what had happened to the expedition, and it was generally conjectured that the little barque with its gallant crew had gone to swell the list of the many thousand ill-found ships which shall be heard of no more

until the sea gives up her dead. Disheartened but not discouraged, Rigault made fresh representations to the King, and a fresh charter, evidently a transcript of the original one, handed over to de Pronis as token of his authority, was drawn up.* In virtue of the powers thus conferred, some wealthy merchants of Rouen and Dieppe, ever foremost in these distant enterprises, fitted out another vessel, and in the autumn of 1643 the *Saint Laurent* reached Madagascar, bringing sixty fresh colonists to augment de Pronis' little band. Fever, however, the curse of the coast, soon began its deadly work, and before the close of the year twenty-six of the new arrivals were dead. The inhabitants, too, commenced to show a decided hostility; the French settlers were unable to leave the walls of their fort without running the risk of attack, and many valuable lives were heedlessly wasted by wanton acts of enmity towards the natives. The insalubrity of Mangafiala, coupled with the undisguised animosity of the Malagese, induced de Pronis to move his little party further south; and towards the spring of 1648 a formidable work, well armed with cannon, was finished on the promontory of Talangar. It was named Fort Dauphin. There was a fair harbour at the spot, so that vessels going to and returning from India were easily able to open up communications with their compatriots in Madagascar; but, although the spot was well suited in many respects, it was soon discovered that the natives of the province were even more hostile than those at Mangafiala. Internal dissensions also agitated the colonists: de Pronis was a Protestant, and much opposed to the proselytizing spirit shown by the Catholic missionaries attached to the party. These men then, as now, showed no mercy towards those whom they are pleased to call heretics, and they found means, on the arrival of the *Royal* in 1644, with ninety fresh colonists, to send a messenger to Paris conveying the gravest charges against the Governor of the colony. Not content with awaiting the issue of this attempt to remove their chief, the malcontents broke into open mutiny, seized de Pronis, put him in irons, and appointed one Leroy Governor in his stead. The arrival of a ship of war quelled

* *See* Appendix No. I.

the mutiny; the captain released the imprisoned Governor, and at his suggestion conveyed a number of the more disaffected back to France. The reports of Captain du Bourg to the Minister of Marine warned the French Government of the necessity of changing the administration of the young colony, and a Monsieur de Flacourt, to whom we are indebted for one of the most interesting books on the island, was despatched in 1648 to relieve de Pronis of the command. But though the new Governor acted with spirit and determination, annexing in the name of the King the entire island of Madagascar, matters still continued on the same unsatisfactory footing. The zeal of the missionaries outran their discretion, and gave rise to innumerable conflicts between the French and the natives, whose hostility showed itself in other than open acts of war; all intercourse with the settlers was forbidden, and de Flacourt finally was compelled to open up communications with the island of St. Marie by means of boats, in order to obtain the necessaries of life.

De Pronis' return to France was the signal for a fresh attempt at the colonization of the island. He succeeded in winning the favour of the Duke de la Meilleraye, a wealthy and ambitious nobleman of exceedingly enterprising spirit. The Duke, struck by de Pronis' undoubtedly exaggerated accounts of the riches to be obtained in the new colony, fitted out a squadron, and formally took possession of the island of St. Marie de Madagascar about the close of the year 1656. Thus two conflicting interests were at work in the island—La Société d'Orient on the one hand, the Duke de la Meilleraye on the other; but, after a time, the energy, wealth, and influence of the Duke overcame all obstacles, and, finally, the working of the Société d'Orient, so far as Madagascar was concerned, was entirely placed in his hands. Until his death, in 1663, matters flowed on smoothly enough; fortunes were rapidly made, and the promoters of the Company rivalled the old Dutch founders of the East India Company of Holland in riches. Unfortunately, the heirs of the Duke did not inherit his ardent spirit, and it became necessary to reconstitute the Company, which, under Meilleraye's guidance, promised to bring commercial prosperity

to France. The undoubted riches of the island were too attractive a bait to lie long unnoticed, and in the spring of 1664 a series of highly coloured reports were submitted to the King, who was pleased to grant a fresh charter to a fresh Company,* and the command of the expedition was entrusted to a M. de Mondevergue.

Louis XIV. accorded the warmest support to the new undertaking; he subscribed the enormous sum of three millions and a half livres towards the capital, nominated a Bishop to the See of Madagascar, and threw open the Royal dockyards for the equipment of the fleet destined to convey the *personnel* of the Company to their new home. The action of the King was contagious. In every city in France large sums were subscribed to the venture, and young men vied with each other in obtaining appointments to the promised land. Every seaport of importance furnished its quota towards the fleet that was to return to French harbours laden with gold and ebony.

In the spring of 1666 the great expedition set sail from Rochelle, and after many vicissitudes from the tempestuous state of the weather and severe losses from scurvy—over 400 souls perished on the voyage—the squadron put into Réunion to refit, and after a short stay at that island reached Fort Dauphin in the autumn of the same year. The work of disenchantment soon commenced. Instead of finding a land flowing with milk and honey, peopled with smiling nations eager for civilization and the Gospel, Mondevergue was welcomed by a half-starved band of French colonists, the remnants of Meilleraye's unfortunate party. A small quantity of rice was all the food left in the magazines of the Fort; their flour and wine had been consumed many months previously, and the garrison had often been subjected to the most terrible privations for water. Heavy rain at certain seasons filled the tanks in the Fort, but when these had run dry, the little force was compelled to collect their daily store from a spring some three miles distant, which was, indeed, their only dependable supply. Many of the original colonists had married natives, and had themselves in self-defence embraced idolatry. With such examples before their eyes, it is not to be

* *See* Appendix No. I.

wondered at that the members of the new expedition clamoured to be relieved from the intolerable burden of settling in such an inhospitable country. Sickness had been busy amongst them ever since leaving Réunion, and Mondevergue judged it wisest to abandon all thought of remaining in Madagascar, and determined to return to France. On his arrival in France the outcry against him raised itself still louder, and, in obedience to the vulgar clamour, he was tried on the most absurd charges and thrown into prison, where he soon afterwards died.

Undismayed by the many unsuccessful attempts to colonize the island, another expedition, on even a more gigantic scale than that of M. Mondevergue's, was undertaken by M. de la Haye in 1670. A fresh garrison was thrown into Fort Dauphin, and, profiting by the experience of his predecessors, the new Governor instituted a régime of the strictest virtue. All intercourse between the soldiery and the women of the country, proverbially immoral and lascivious, was absolutely forbidden. This was little in accordance with the temperament of the French freebooter, and de la Haye found himself confronted by a formidable mutiny. Little by little his numbers decreased, and at last, like de Pronis, and Flacourt, and Mondevergue before him, de la Haye reluctantly came to the conclusion that colonization on the coasts of Madagascar was impossible. In 1674, the arrival of a vessel from France gave the disappointed emigrants the long wished-for opportunity. Sixty-four men, the remnant of 4,000 Frenchmen who started with him, embarked on the *Dunkerquoise* for Surat, leaving the island untenanted by any official representative of France.

In short, the Grande Compagnie de l'Orient et de Madagascar found itself unable to pay to His Most Christian Majesty of France its annual tribute of one golden crown and one golden sceptre. Its charter consequently lapsed; but Louis XIV. was by no means willing to permit the island to fall a prey to other nations, and readily falling in with the suggestions of his Ministers, he issued a decree,* in the year 1685, annulling the grant of the island to the defaulting Company, and formally re-annexing it to the Kingdom of France.

* *See* Appendix No. III.

In short, being unable to hold the island, yet unwilling to lose it, Louis XIV. thought that a mere proclamation would be all that was necessary to make it an hereditary fief of the French Crown. Even modern French authors advance the same opinion. The talented M. Jules Duval writes, in his excellent work "Les Colonies et la Politique Coloniale de la France":—

"Jamais colonie n'a été rattachée à une metropole par un acte plus solennel et plus exprès, réunissant toutes les conditions voulues en ce temps de colonisation aventureuse."

Still no French representative was left in Madagascar, nor do we even hear of French explorers until in 1733 de Cossigny, and in 1745 La Bourdonnais, visited the west coast. It was in accordance with the strong representations of the last-named gallant Admiral that M. Dumas, Governor of the Isle of France, sent a small force to Foulpointe with a view of opening up commercial communications between the two islands. For some years this plan met with the most complete success, and the Isles of France and of Bourbon began to look to Madagascar for their supplies of live-stock. Indeed at one time, in 1773, through the energy and perseverance of a Polish settler named Benyowski, there seemed a great probability of the whole island passing into the hands of the French; but the injudicious treatment this man received created in him an enemy who succeeded in thwarting all designs of the French Ministry, and in 1775 we again find the island deserted by all official Frenchmen.

Missionaries, however, were far from idle, and the Jesuits, ever foremost in thrusting themselves into positions of danger and difficulty, where souls are to be saved, saw in Madagascar a fresh field for their labours. The views of these missionaries of the last century are of the more interest in these days, when we find Monsignor Freppel and the Church party in France supporting the Third Republic in its colonial policy.

In 1779, Monsieur Durocher was despatched from l'Orient for the purpose of establishing a mission in the island. He was also furnished with instructions from the French Government to report as to the possibility of reconstituting the lost colony. His words are worth quoting:—

"No, sir," wrote the priest to the Minister of Marine, "there is no need for troops in Madagascar, all we require are French colonists, men of austere lives and manners, men of honour and of probity, to whom the King should accord all those advantages usually granted to infant colonies. They should be married men, and in time their descendants would form a force from which, if needful, the forces of the colony would be drawn. The neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin offers scanty resources. Tamatave is situated in the middle of the coast line, and in a most fertile country. As to the spread of religion, I see but one obstacle, and that is in the immorality of our own countrymen. The people and the chiefs show marked confidence in the French priests; they bring me their infants to baptize and their elder children to instruct; even the adults join in the services of our Church with a devotion and respect which is in marked contrast with the attitude of our own settlers. They witnessed my departure with regrets and tears. The promise I made them that I would speedily return with other priests consoled them not a little, and I count on your assistance, Monseigneur, to fulfil this promise."

The outbreak of the Revolution put an end to the efforts of the Missionary as well as to the designs of the Minister. On his return to France, in 1789, in order to lay his plans before the King, Durocher found his country plunged into an abyss of misery wherein she is still wallowing. The determination of the great European Powers to put an end to the proselytizing efforts of Revolutionary France, and to stamp out, at all cost, the foul Communistic plague, the spread of which the leaders of the Convention were encouraging by all the means at their disposal, prevented the French Government from aiding any further in the establishment of new colonies. Canada and India had been lost to Louis, the armies of Monarchical Europe were thundering at the doors of Republican France, and all her efforts were needed for her own self-preservation. The Republic passed through its various phases, the Empire rose and fell, and it was not until the Monarchy was once more firmly established that France was able to turn her thoughts to that great African island which she still hopes to see pass under the

sway of the Tricolour. But while changes had taken place in Europe equally great changes had been enacted in the East. The victorious fleets of Great Britain had wrested from France Mauritius and Bourbon; and though the latter had in a moment of weakness been retroceded to the French Monarch by the Treaty of Paris of 1814, French supremacy and French prestige had received a fatal blow in the Indian Seas. Changes, too, had taken place in Madagascar. Little by little the Hovas, never friendly to the French, had shown themselves the dominant power in the island, and in 1810 Radama I., a member of that tribe, was recognized by the chiefs of all other tribes as King of Madagascar. The value of Madagascar for commercial purposes was accurately foreseen by Sir Robert Farquhar, one of the early Governors of the Mauritius, after that island became a British colony. He speedily opened up communications with the Court of Radama I., and cemented an alliance which continues to this day between the two countries. British missionaries performed the solemn ceremonials of the Church of England in spots where the gorgeous rites of the Romish priesthood had hitherto cast a glamour over a credulous and superstitious race. Schools presided over by Protestant pastors were scattered throughout the land, and when, in 1830, the French endeavoured to regain the position lost by the abandonment of the island in 1685, they found British influence too strong. In vain did the Governor of Bourbon adduce old treaties and old deeds of annexation in proof of French sovereignty over the kingdom of the Hovas. Sir Robert Farquhar put his own interpretation on the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and refused to recognize French claims, based as they were on the flimsy vapourings of worthless documents—documents that had lain dormant in the Ministry of Marine for over 150 years, and which, even when the ink was still wet, had never possessed more than a fictitious value in the eyes of French Ministers. In this he was supported by the Home Government, and in 1817 a treaty was concluded between Radama I. and the English, in which, to the annoyance of the French, who still laid claim to many points on the main island, that potentate was styled King of Madagascar.

The French, however, were determined to maintain their

rights to the various mission stations occupied by their compatriots prior to the Revolution, and in 1818 Monsieur Sylvain de Roux solemnly took possession of the island of St. Marie de Madagascar, in virtue of a treaty entered into in 1650 between the Duke de la Meilleraye and the ruler of the islet. He also occupied Nossi Bé, as well as Tamatave, Fort Dauphin, and Tintaque, on the main island. Radama was by no means prepared to acquiesce in these acts of aggression. For more than a century and a half no official Frenchmen had resided in Madagascar; the efforts of M. de la Haye in 1670 to re-establish a settlement on the great African island had been the last attempt on the part of the Government, and since then Radama had overpowered the Sakalaves and consolidated his power throughout the length and breadth of the island. It is true that the Jesuits had never wholly abandoned their hold on Madagascar; but the fact of French missionaries being permitted to pursue their calling in undisturbed peace scarcely gave France a claim to the possession of a kingdom which, though it had been formally annexed by de Flacourt in the middle of the seventeenth century on behalf of His Most Christian Majesty of France, had been abandoned twenty-five years later as an unprofitable possession. Now that the English were in possession of the Mauritius, Madagascar assumed a new value, and M. de Roux threw up petty works at all the stations occupied and held them with French troops. Radama's remonstrances were unheeded; to his demands for the removal of these armed forces no answers were returned. At last, in 1825, the King, at the head of a considerable body of men, attacked and drove the French out of Foulpointe and Tamatave. For four years France took no notice of this act of just retribution, but on the death of Radama, and on the refusal of his successor, Queen Ranavolana, to afford any satisfaction, a punitive expedition was organized in Bourbon, and on the 9th of July, 1829, arrived before Tamatave. No reply being vouchsafed to the French ultimatum the squadron bombarded Tintaque and Tamatave, and a landing-party was disembarked to effect a still greater punishment. The season of the year more than the opposition of the Hovas caused the destruction

of this body of men, and before reinforcements could arrive from Europe, the Revolution of July, 1830, put a stop to further hostilities, and led to the abandonment of all the points already occupied on the main island.

Jesuit missionaries, however, still carried on their work, in the hopes of supplanting the curse of Protestantism. In recounting the difficulties under which they laboured, M. de la Vaissière, in his interesting work, "Histoire de Madagascar, ses Habitants et ses Missionaires," writes :—

"It will be of interest to my readers to recount succinctly the foes which the missionaries of Christ have daily to face in the island of Madagascar.

"The first and the most tenacious of these enemies is the attachment of the natives to the superstitions and customs of their own country. If we do not actually come across idols of wood and stone it is because the natives do believe in a God, and do not think He can be worthily represented by carved images.

"The second great difficulty we have to contend with is the gross immorality prevalent in the island, and its attendant vices of lying, avarice, and drunkenness.

"To superstition and immorality we must add, as a third plague, the curse of Protestantism, a veritable disease sown by false prophets of God in almost every house in the land."

Protestantism, this third plague that blights French missionary enterprise in Madagascar, is so closely allied to the questions which bind English interests with those of the unfortunate Hovas, that France has taken special care, in the recent treaties of 1886, to retain in her own hands the foreign relations of the island, and the consequent power of striking at English supremacy by the expulsion of English missionaries.

As long as Protestantism is the dominant religion so long will English counsels prevail, and it is interesting to note how keen has been the struggle between the rival religions, how often the disputes that have arisen between the French and the English and the Malagese have been owing to the action of missionaries, and how often these men have been employed as earthly envoys to intervene between the Courts of St. James and of Antananarivo.

In 1830 the Governor of Bourbon made a fresh effort to resuscitate French influence on the island, which since 1820 had been entirely abandoned even by the missionaries. Monsieur de Solages, a Jesuit priest, was despatched on a mission to Antananarivo, furnished with credentials to Queen Ranavolana, who had succeeded Radama I.; and though ostensibly his mission was one of peace, undertaken with a view of re-establishing the Catholic Church on the island, it had, in reality, no other object than that of opening up commercial relations, with the ulterior design of carrying out the time-worn project of placing Madagascar under French protection. The Queen appears to have given orders for General Fever to oppose the advance of the French priest, who died ere he reached the capital. "He died, a prey to chagrin and to fever before he had time to open up any communication with the natives; hunger and misery, too, worked their part in his end. He fell a victim to Pagan superstition, and to the heretical intolerance of the English Methodists. The jealous missionaries of the Society of London guilty of such a crime did not reap for long any profit from it," writes the French historian, de la Vaissière. His prophecy was fulfilled, for in 1835 Queen Ranavolana ordered the expulsion of the greater part of the missionaries of all denominations from her territories. She showed herself decidedly hostile to all Europeans, and, by a line of conduct much at variance with that pursued by her predecessors, nearly provoked a conflict with the great Western Powers.

Undeterred by the death of M. de Solages, the French Government despatched a fresh ambassador in the person of M. Dalmond, another Jesuit priest, and by his exertions treaties were entered into with the dispossessed King of the Sakalaves, in virtue of which the islands of Mayotte, Nossi Bé, and certain spots on the main island, which he alleged belonged to his ancestors, though now they were in possession of the Hovas, were ceded to France. The treaty is of interest, as on it rests the French claims to the partition of the main island.*

It is on the strength of this extraordinary document, wrung from an exile King by the wiles of a scheming Jesuit, that

* *See* Appendix IV.

France bases her claim to the sovereignty of the island: she forgets that Tsimandroho was signing away territories which had been conquered from him thirty years previously by the Hovas, and that the whole essence of the treaty lay in the French aiding him to reconquer his lost possessions. This they neglected to do; and thus, having failed in their share of the treaty, it is difficult to realize on what legal or moral grounds they now claim its execution.

In order the more clearly to establish French rights over the lost kingdom of Tsimandroho, Monsieur Dalmond, as interpreter, accompanied the Mission of Captain Passot to the islands of Mayotte and Nossi Bé, and drew up subsidiary treaties with Andriantsoly, the Sultan of the former, and Tsiomeko, the Queen of the latter isle. In 1840 formal possession was taken of these places, and plans drawn up for converting Mayotte into an important military position. Engineer officers were despatched from France, workmen collected on the spot, and for some years operations were pushed on with varying vigour. At times, a handsome credit being voted to the Minister of Marine, a fresh fort was commenced; at others, when funds were low, all work was suspended. For some years the project has fallen into abeyance, and now Mayotte is nothing but a picturesque islet, surrounded with dangerous reefs, endowed with an administration costing the mother country close on £12,000 a year, surmounted with crumbling forts and half-finished barracks. Several hundred thousand pounds have been expended in perfecting its harbour, and in the construction of the now-abandoned, half-finished forts. It is not a military station, neither can it in any sense of the word be considered a colony: it is a standing monument—one of many—to the ineptitude of the French for transplanting themselves to other soils, and to the folly of attempting to create strategic positions in spots where strategy can never be called into play.

Between 1840 and 1849 the French Government was on the one hand endeavouring to convert the group of islets on the north-western coast of the islands into a strong position, in order to counteract the influence of the British in Mauritius.

The Catholic missionaries, on the other, were penetrating into the heart of the main island, with a view of overturning the dominant influence of the Protestants, whose power was daily on the increase. But the Sakalaves, irritated at the refusal of the French to carry out their promise of regaining from the Hovas the lost possessions of King Tsimandroho, after repeated demands that the treaty should be fulfilled, rose against the settlement in Nossi Bé, and large numbers crossing over from the main island made common cause with the local tribes. For some time the little colony was in extreme danger, but reinforcements arriving from Mayotte enabled the French to repulse their assailants with heavy loss; and the timely arrival of a vessel of war further permitted the Commandant to follow up the enemy to their homes in Madagascar. In the short campaign which followed, the Jesuit priests showed themselves ever foremost in danger, and by their knowledge of the language proved of invaluable aid; their fearlessness adding much to the esteem in which they were previously held. There is no doubt that the conduct of the Sakalaves was partly induced by the abolition of the slave trade in the French colonies—one of the first acts of the Second Republic. Striking as it did at the root of ancient institutions, and depriving native proprietors of a large portion of their disposable property (for the sale of slaves was attended with less trouble than the transfer of land, and was one of the most fruitful sources of wealth in the island), the abolition of slavery, without any adequate recompense being made to the slaveholders, was a grievance which the natives were not slow to add to their other just complaints against their conquerors.

The crushing losses inflicted on the natives during this outbreak, followed as it soon was by the death of Tsimandroho, had the effect of reducing the Sakalaves to submission, and for the future the French dwelt unmolested in their newly-acquired islands. Jealous of the position acquired by the English on the mainland, the Jesuits, working in conjunction with the authorities in Paris, determined to effect a settlement there likewise. The old treaty with Tsimandroho was again brought into requisition and in the year 1850 a small party of

missionaries, under cover of the guns of the brig-of-war *Victor*, threw up a mission station in the Bay of Baly, on the west coast of the island. The seamen and artificers of the man-of-war aided the missionaries in their labours; and the arrival of the expedition being timed to correspond with a threatened attack of the Hovas on the Sakalave coast, had an appearance of the open assistance of the French being at last accorded to the successors of Tsimandroho. But a station on the sea-coast was not the point aimed at by the Jesuits; and the following extracts from the journal of Father Finaz clearly demonstrate the double objects French Missions ever have in view:—

"TAMATAVE, *April* 10, 1855.

"Here we are at Tamatave with M. de Lastelle. In a private conversation I had with that gentleman he told me that the moment was not propitious for my proceeding to the capital of the Hovas. He will endeavour, nevertheless, to procure me, as soon as possible, the necessary permission for embarking on this journey, in the guise either of an artist or as a savant.

"The French Protectorate over Madagascar, said M. de Lastelle, is my aim, and the object of all my desires. It is to this end that M. Laborde is at Antananarivo, and for this that I have been working for years"!!

M. Laborde plays such an important part in the history of the relations between France and Madagascar that it is necessary to refer briefly to his career. Born at Auch in 1806, he was destined for employment in the house of a near relative, the head of a mercantile establishment in Pondicherry. Returning from India in 1831, he was shipwrecked on the eastern coast of Madagascar, near Fort Dauphin, and received much kindness and hospitality from M. Arnoux, the only representative of his country then on the island. This gentleman, a partner in a Marseilles firm which possessed an important branch in Réunion, had established a valuable coffee and sugar plantation at the mouth of the Méhala river, in the province of Antatsiman. Up to the death of Radama I. this enterprise

flourished greatly, and M. Laborde, who had abandoned his Indian connection and thrown in his lot with M. Arnoux, aided not a little in the financial success of the work. But on the accession to power of Queen Ranavolana, every obstacle was thrown in the way of Europeans: exorbitant taxes were levied; workmen were forbidden to engage themselves on their properties; and soon it became apparent that the action of the Queen would paralyze European industry.

M. Arnoux determined to proceed to the capital, and to solicit an interview with the Queen, in order to obtain her personal interference to put a stop to a policy of aggression, of which he felt convinced she was ignorant. His mission was successful; but fever, contracted in crossing the swampy districts between the Méhala and Antananarivo, caused his death within a few weeks of his return. His share of the plantations was inherited by his nephew, M. de Lastelle, a hardy sea-captain of St. Malo—a port which has produced some of the finest characters and most daring navigators France can boast of.

Messieurs Laborde and Lastelle, now secure of the Queen's support, imported from their mother country a strong contingent of European assistants. Availing themselves of the local coal and iron, they established foundries and supplied the neighbouring tribes, and even the islands of Réunion and Mauritius, with agricultural tools. They furnished the Queen's forces with weapons, and, at the instigation of the Jesuit missionaries, aided her in the suppression of a revolt by the loan of a steamer which plied between their head-quarters and Bourbon. Such a line of conduct reaped its own reward. The enterprising French merchants obtained a formal recognition by the Queen of the concession of their estate from the local chieftains, and she also removed all import and export dues at Méhala.

There is no doubt that it was through the influence of Rakoto, the heir apparent, that these gentlemen were able to effect so much. A man of some ability, the Crown Prince was addicted to sensual pleasures; in these and the luxuries of the table he was encouraged by his French friends, who grafted

on him a veneer of Parisian civilization. They were never weary of pointing out to him the shortcomings of the Queen, and of explaining that his subordinate position was one wanting in dignity, and was mainly due to the intrigues of the English, who possessed much influence over his mother. In fact, as M. Laborde owns, his every effort for a quarter of a century was devoted towards the establishment of a French Protectorate over the island. So far back as 1847 M. Lambert induced Prince Rakoto to communicate his desire to enter into negotiations with the French Government with a view of obtaining their assistance to the dethronement of his mother, and his assumption of the kingly power under the protection of the Court of Louis Philippe; but the changes that were then taking place in France precluded the possibility of any interference in distant seas, and so the opportunity was lost.

Messieurs Laborde and Lastelle were much aided, not only in their commercial enterprise, but also in their designs for the establishment of a French Protectorate over Madagascar, by a Monsieur Lambert, a wealthy merchant in the Mauritius, who made use of his position in the British island to warn his coadjutors of all steps made by the British Government towards the cementing of a British alliance with the Court of Antananarivo. Constant communications passed between Port St. Louis and Méhala, and on any important occasion M. Lambert himself would proceed to Madagascar in order to aid with his counsel and presence his African colleagues. It was on one of these visits that permission was demanded of Ranavolana for a French mission station to be located on the main island.

A few months later, in company with M. Laborde and M. de Lastelle, the Jesuit priest, Père Finaz, under the guise of an artist, succeeded in reaching the capital, and whilst enjoying the hospitality of the Queen, persuaded Prince Rakoto and some other discontented spirits to entrust him with letters* to the Emperor Napoleon III., begging the French monarch that he would take the entire island under his protection.

* *See* Appendix V.

It is needless to say this letter was kept from the eyes of the Queen.

The joint efforts of the merchant and the priest were, however, unsuccessful. The Queen would appear to have had her suspicions aroused by the profusion of presents which were showered around, and though she repaid these crafty dealings with regal hospitality, she took energetic measures to prevent other French settlers from establishing themselves on the coast. A M. Darvoy, who had erected a factory at Ambavatoby, on the north-western coast, was ordered to quit the country. He not only refused to listen to the Royal messengers, but threatened to answer force with force. A strong body of Hovas was marched against him, and a sharp engagement ensued; his buildings were destroyed, and he unfortunately perished in the defence, though the ships' guns which he had mounted on the walls of his factory inflicted heavy loss on the Hovas. An officer and four sailors belonging to a merchant vessel were also seized as they were endeavouring to open up negotiations with some natives in the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin.

In the meantime, the English missionaries remained unmolested, and the old rivalry between the two Western Powers was here fought out with pristine bitterness, the French Jesuits being aided by the Crown Prince Rakoto, the English Protestants by the Queen Regnant; and whilst Father Finaz was clandestinely visiting the capital in the character of an artist and musician, the Reverend Mr. Ellis was openly pursuing his double calling of delegate from the Foreign Office and chief of the Church Missionary Society's establishment.

M. Lambert, armed with the letter from Prince Rakoto and the appeal from some of the head men of the capital, proceeded to Paris, in the hopes of inducing the Emperor to annex the island. But the Crimean War was barely ended, the Anglo-French alliance was at its height, the British Government was decidedly averse to a dual control, and Napoleon equally undesirous of arousing English susceptibilities by undertaking the Protectorate of the island. To the despair of the zealous Frenchmen in Madagascar, the Court of the Tuilleries contented itself with a formal acknowledgment of the communication

laid before it by M. Lambert, but declined all interference in the matter. Thus were the hopes of a French Protectorate, even of official encouragement, dashed to the ground.

The conduct of the French Jesuits was not without its fruits. Conceived in deceit, it brought forth bloodshed. Ranavolana, fearing that the French intrigues would result in open rebellion, and seeing Prince Rakoto in close correspondence with the Europeans, who she knew desired the annexation of her island, took the usual semi-civilized method of strengthening her position. Wholesale executions took place of those suspected even of holding communications with the French, and the Governor of the Mauritius was communicated with, with a view of preventing the return to Madagascar of M. Lambert. That official, foreseeing that, in the present temper of the Queen, neglect of her reasonable wishes would in all probability lead to a renewal of the prohibition of commerce between the two islands, issued a proclamation, desiring all English subjects and all foreigners resident in his government to abstain from interfering in any way with the internal affairs of Madagascar, warning them that such acts would interrupt the harmonious relations then existing between the Courts of St. James and Antananarivo, and would, under the Penal Code of the island, be punishable with imprisonment and deportation from the Mauritius.

There was no mistaking the purport of Governor Higginson's proclamation; it was directed against Messieurs Lambert and Lastelle, French residents in the English colony, who had proceeded to the capital of Madagascar, accompanied by a Jesuit missionary in the guise of an artist, in order to foment discord, and thus pave the way for French intervention; and who had further connived at the establishment of a Jesuit mission at Antananarivo by persuading the Queen to entrust them with the task of procuring two doctors to attend her sick son, when they, regardless of the means to attain their desired end, succeeded in introducing more priests to her capital in the garb of physicians.

The representations of the Queen to the British Governor were followed up by the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries from the capital; their hypocrisy had at length been unmasked;

but they still were able to continue their labours at Baly, which now became the market for the export of "free labourers" to Réunion under the very eyes of the Jesuit priests, and, unchecked by them, a veritable slave-trade grew up between Madagascar and the French island of Réunion. This infernal human traffic, once commenced, swung on with vigour, and, as has since happened in the Southern Seas, whenever free labourers saw an opportunity, they rose on their captors; and though these revolts were more generally suppressed with savage cruelty, cases did not unfrequently occur where officers and men were massacred and the slaves found themselves free again.

The kidnapping of slaves in the face of solemn treaty engagements with European Powers was permitted to proceed unchecked by the French Government, though constant representations were made by Queen Ranavolana to the Governor of Réunion; but when the captain of a slaver was murdered by the blacks in an attempt to escape from the ships to which they had been conveyed, *le droit et l'honneur* of France was insulted, and a corvette was despatched to the coast of Madagascar to demand reparation. Unfortunately, the mission station of Baly, as we have seen, had been made the head-quarters of a slave-trade, and in punishing the unfortunate Sakalaves for their attempt to avoid the perils of slavery, not only were all the villages in the vicinity of Baly bombarded and destroyed, but the mission property too was absolutely ruined. The captain of the corvette, whose authority was limited to his quarter-deck, and whose power did not range beyond cannon-shot, issued a proclamation solemnly declaring Queen Ranavolana deposed, and levied a fine of 14,000 piasters (close on £3,000) on the villages which had been made to feel the weight of his wrath. In commenting on this proceeding the Jesuit Father Jouen says: "Si la justice de la France avait été lente à venir elle n'en était que plus terrible."

The effects, however, of the punishment were more apparent than real, and fell with greater weight on the missionaries than on the natives; for, while the latter escaped scathless, the former were compelled to abandon the station and to proceed to Nossi Bé in the corvette, so as to avoid the just resentment of

the Sakalaves. Six months after the bombardment all the villages were rebuilt, not a sou of the indemnity had been paid, and the authority of the Queen was paramount in the district whence she had been formally deposed by the captain of a French man-of-war. In fact the only memento of the bombardment was to be discovered in the charred ruins of the Jesuit mission buildings.

Checked in Madagascar itself, the zeal of the missionaries allowed them no rest; their next station was Fomboni, in the Comores Islands, at which some ten years previously a member of their fraternity had made the acquaintance of the reigning Queen. Although the rulers were strict Mahomedans, and the missionaries felt there was small chance that they would ever listen to the truth of the Christian religion, yet the labours of the Jesuits, as we have seen, were not all spiritual, nor was their success so apparent in this as in the political line. Jesuits have ever been striking statesmen. Fomboni was the capital of one of the largest islands in the Comores group; it possessed a good harbour and offered fair facilities for commerce, being a convenient resting-place for vessels trading from Zanzibar to Réunion. The missionaries, therefore, were justified in endeavouring to obtain the cession of the country to France: they were successful beyond measure. In the spring of 1861 the Queen addressed an urgent appeal to the Commandant of Mayotte, throwing herself on French protection, and ceding her possessions to the Emperor.*

Such an appeal could not be disregarded, and two vessels, the *Seine* and the *Perle*, were despatched to Mohély in the July following, when formal possession of the island was taken, and the Mahomedan chiefs, who had suggested the propriety of demanding English, not French aid, were deported by the senior naval officer to a colony where, by personal observation, they could learn the true state of French greatness.

In the meantime affairs on the main island were reaching a climax. To worship the rising sun had been the constant aim of the Jesuit missionaries during their stay in the capital. Queen Ranavolana, as we have seen, had shown no disposition

* *See* Appendix No. VII.

to favour them at the expense of their Protestant fellow-workers, and their interference in the internal politics of the kingdom had irritated her in no small degree. Turning, therefore, from the Queen, the French made every effort to win over to their side the Crown Prince, Rakoto Radama. This policy was an admirable one, for, on the death of the Queen, in August 1861, and on the accession of Radama II., the Jesuits naturally found themselves in high favour. An invitation from the King to visit the capital was followed up by a permission for them to carry on their mission work throughout the territory of the Hovas. "I have but one thought, but one desire," wrote the King, "and that is, that the torch of true religion and of civilization should burn through the length and breadth of my kingdom."

Further than this, the young King, Radama II., still under the influence which M. Lambert and Father Jouen exercised over him, consented to enter into a treaty with the French, granting them certain privileges, to the exclusion of other nations. He also bestowed on the first-named gentleman the cession in perpetuity of an enormous tract of land in the vicinity of Méhala. M. Lambert, we have seen, played a most important part in the negotiations between France and Madagascar, and this act of cession* therefore presents many points of interest.

Armed with full authority from King Radama, and bearing with him the text of a draft treaty which he himself had drawn up, M. Lambert proceeded to Paris, on the congenial task of obtaining from the Emperor Napoleon III. the ratification of an alliance which was to secure for France a preponderating influence in the great African island. M. Lambert was accompanied by a Jesuit priest, who was also the bearer of a missive to the Pope, soliciting the prayers of His Holiness on behalf of the young King. But the Ambassador's mission was not wholly political. Well versed in the mysteries of Company floating, M. Lambert endeavoured to interest in his own behalf a group of Parisian speculators, feeling convinced that the

* *See* Appendix No. VIII.

introduction of French capital into the island would shortly draw after it the necessity of French protection.

Thus began once more the recrudescence of French, the decline of British influence, in an island in which France had been struggling for supremacy for over two centuries. Yet Radama no sooner felt himself free from the pernicious influence of his French friends than he commenced to assert his independence. Thus, though with an eye to obtaining European support against his island foes, the King had been weak enough to forward a letter to the Pope, the very wording of which betrays its authorship, yet within a few months he felt himself strong enough on the throne to warn the Catholics that he meant to treat all sects with equality, and that though the proclamation fulminated against them by his mother was withdrawn, and they had the privilege of opening schools and building churches, they were not to construe such permission into any intention on his part to indulge in religious intolerance.

A comparison between the letter addressed to the Pope, when as yet Radama II. found his throne far from firm, and that in which he warned the missionaries of his desire to maintain harmonious relations with the representatives of all religions, is interesting:—

"ANTANANARIVO, *November* 7, 1861.

"MOST HOLY FATHER,

"I have the honour, with feelings of the deepest grief, to announce to you the death of my mother, which melancholy event took place on the 16th August, 1861, and of my accession to the throne under the title of Radama II.

"A great conspiracy was formed to prevent my succeeding my mother, but God watched over me and confounded the machinations of my enemies. I have pardoned all of them, remembering the example of Jesus Christ; not a single drop of blood has been shed. I have given freedom to those unfortunates who languished in chains and in prison.

"I have only one desire, Most Holy Father, and that is to see my people happy and civilized. I am convinced that the surest

means to attain this end is to instruct them in the Christian religion. I have, therefore, recalled the missionaries, and have granted them authority to teach throughout my kingdom. Already Father Jouen has arrived in my capital, with two companions, and has opened schools, which are under the direction of his associates, and of the Sisters who have accompanied him.

"Most Holy Father, though a King, I am young, and I have no experience; I have, therefore, need of help, and require constant aid in the high calling which God has confided to me. I venture to count on the prayers and intercessions of Your Holiness, and I demand these with all the respect and with all the affection that a son would demand aid from his father.

"I am, Most Holy Father,

"RADAMA II."

In quoting this letter, Father le Vaissière counts too much on the credulity of his readers if he anticipates that any will fail to connect it with the handiwork of the Jesuit priest who three years before *almost persuaded* Radama to become a Christian.

Let us now turn to the letter which spread such consternation in the Jesuit camp. It was in answer to a remonstrance addressed to the King by Father Jouen as to the mode of life indulged in by Radama, and shows a firmness of spirit, and at the same time a breadth of ideas, rarely to be met with in a monarch of such a kingdom:—

"I wish to tell you frankly, that so long as I reign and command, I shall look upon commerce and the arts as the only true source of material progress. As to religion, let each one follow that which he desires, whether Catholic, Protestant, Mahomedan, or even Paganism. I do not care to forbid the practice of any religion, nor to follow the example of some Kings of France, of some Popes, who persecuted and even killed people on account of their religion. I simply believe in the Great God who has created the Universe, and I know perfectly well that the religions of Catholics, of Protestants, of

Mahomedans, or of Pagans, are mere fables, merely lyings and fanaticisms, and I desire free liberty of conscience for all; and this is what all wise people, whether black or white, also desire. Mark well my words, I tell you all my thoughts, and they change not; they are like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, which never change.

"Your son and friend,

"RAKOTO RADAMA II."

In order the more fully to give expression to the sentiments conveyed in this letter, which the Jesuits very naturally declared to be the handiwork of the "English Methodists," Radama sent proclamations to the various Courts of Europe, announcing the opening of his country to commerce, inviting merchants to create establishments at the various coast towns, and announcing his intention of abolishing all inland customs dues.

The Governor of the Mauritius, desirous of securing early benefits for his country from the enlightened measures of the King, despatched a congratulatory embassy to Antananarivo, immediately on hearing of the Queen's death, and it was to this act of courtesy that the Jesuits owed their being checkmated so early in the game. Six months elapsed before the Court of the Tuilleries entrusted M. Brossard de Corbigny with a similar task; and though the French envoy was received with courtesy, it was evident that Radama had been touched by the early initiative of the British, had been enlightened as to the probable effect of his injudicious concession to M. Lambert, and was by no means disposed to allow any one nation to exercise an invidious authority within his realms.

Both France and England sent special embassies to represent their respective sovereigns at the coronation of Radama. The French mission reached the capital on the 28th July, that of England on the 8th August, 1862; but although the French had thus eight days' undisturbed possession of the ground, they made no formal visit to the King until the 15th August, whereas the British envoy the evening of his arrival hoisted the Union Jack over the Consulate, under a salute of twenty-

one guns: the salute was returned by the Hovas, who furnished a guard of honour. Thus once more international courtesies had the effect of strengthening the growing bond of union between Malagese and British, whilst a neglect of the ordinary rules of politeness was loosening those which already existed between the French and Radama. The King had been much annoyed at the tone of the French Emperor's congratulatory letter, in which he had been designated as King of the Hovas—not of Madagascar. However, this ill-feeling was smoothed away by the execution of two treaties, one with France, and one with England, in both of which the King had been styled His Majesty Radama II., King of Madagascar. It will be remembered that, in the charter granting a concession of mining and other rights to M. Lambert, the French Consul, M. Laborde, as well as his English colleague, M. Pakenham, had, in attesting the signatures of the contracting parties, alluded to the King as Radama II., neither styling him King of the Hovas nor King of Madagascar, but here, in a document authenticated by Napoleon's own signature, the title King of Madagascar was adopted. Surely this was a tacit recognition of the rights of Radama II. over the whole island, and a virtual renunciation of the absurd proclamation of Louis XIV., if, indeed, such a renunciation was ever necessary.

On the 20th September, 1862, Radama and his wife, Rambodo, were crowned with unusual pomp and splendour, in the presence of an immense crowd of natives, and of the French and British embassies. Valuable gifts from the various European sovereigns were displayed in the palace, amongst them being a medallion and a decoration from the Holy Pontiff.

Immediately after his coronation the King threw off all semblance of respect for the Catholic missionaries, and plunged more and more into debauchery and vice; his many enemies were not slow to take advantage of the confusion caused by his neglect to attend to his duties, and by the attitude of his ministers, who conducted their various departments as seemed best to them. Plots against his life were of frequent occurrence, and at last the disaffection ended in open rebellion, and

the rebellion culminated in the assassination of the sovereign on the 12th of May, 1863.

It would appear as if the hatred shown towards the King was not extended to his wife, for no efforts were made to prevent the Royal power passing, as, according to Madagascar law, it should pass, into her hands, and on the 30th of August, 1863, she was crowned Queen of Madagascar, but with far less splendour than at the ceremonial of the preceding year. The *entourage* of the Queen was decidedly anti-French; the Consuls and missionaries of that nation were warned that Queen Rasoherina would refuse the ratification of the treaty which Messieurs Lambert and Laborde had extorted from her husband, and that she would also annul the concession of territory made to those gentlemen prior to the coronation of Radama. Representations were accordingly made by the French residents to the Governor of Réunion, and Admiral Dupré, the Naval Commandant on the East Indian station, was despatched with a squadron to Tamatave to present an ultimatum to the Queen.

But the appearance of a hostile fleet anchored in the harbour of Tamatave spread no consternation in Antananarivo. The Queen resolutely declined either to ratify the treaty or to confirm the concession. So little did her representatives fear the empty threats of the French, that the bearers of the ultimatum were treated with studied indignity; and when, in order to avoid bloodshed, further negotiations were opened, the Commandant of Tamatave refused to accord military honour to the French Envoy. That officer proceeded to Antananarivo in obedience to his instructions; but though at the capital he was received with courtesy, the previous disrespect with which he had been treated so rankled in his mind that he on his part behaved towards the Ministers of the Queen, even towards the Queen herself, in a manner that drew forth stern rejoinders from Her Majesty, and effectually prevented all hope of a reconciliation.

Finally a compromise was entered into, Admiral Dupré on his part guaranteeing to return the Concession granted to Messieurs Laborde and Lambert, as well as the draft Treaty which had already received the French Emperor's signature, whilst

the Queen's Ministers consented to pay a pecuniary indemnity to the disappointed merchants. The negotiations were sufficiently protracted even after this *modus vivendi* had been arrived at. The French Admiral refused to part either with Treaty or Concession until the indemnity was handed over to him; the Malagese equally obstinately refused to part with their money until the documents were in their possession. Threats of bombarding Tamatave were uttered, but still the Minister held firm. The Admiral dared not commit such an act of hostility on his own responsibility, and the Governor of Réunion declined to give the necessary authority. Representations were made to France, but the Emperor was averse to a course of action which would inevitably ruin all prospects of a commercial treaty with Madagascar, and finally, thanks to the intervention of Consul Pakenham, who throughout this trying period had acted as a mediator between the disputants, it was arranged that the French Admiral should bring the documents ashore, hand them over to the Hova officials, and then receive the money, which was in safe custody in a fort some miles in the interior.

In December, 1865, the last act of this solemn farce was played out. French officers from the flag-ship landed under a salute from the Hova forts. The famous documents were publicly burnt in the market-place, and the cases containing the indemnity were placed in men-of-war boats and speedily transferred to the *Loiret*.

Thus a signal diplomatic victory was achieved by Queen Rasoherina—a victory which did not increase the affection borne by the French towards the Hovas.

The hatred of the French towards any nation which has defeated them, either fairly in action or by diplomatic means, is proverbial, and it may readily be imagined that their animosity towards Madagascar was not ameliorated on learning that whilst the absurd negotiations with regard to the Laborde Concession had been dragging their weary length, the President of the United States, with characteristic smartness, had succeeded in carrying through a most successful commercial treaty. A similar one had been accorded to Great Britain, within a few

weeks of Queen Rasoherina's accession, and in both of these treaties, to the annoyance of the French, Rasoherina had been styled Queen of Madagascar.

Although unable to induce the Hovas to grant them a treaty similar to that entered into with the English and Americans, the French missionaries found themselves treated with invariable kindness, so that during the reign of Rasoherina they succeeded in establishing a number of stations throughout the island; anxious for her special welfare, they made several determined efforts to induce her to embrace the Catholic religion. At last the long wished-for opportunity arrived. In January, 1868, the Queen, who had been in delicate health for some months, contracted a violent fever, and her Ministers called in European doctors, whose success in similar cases had become a matter of notoriety in the island. At that time there was no medical man with the Jesuit mission, but such an opportunity of bringing religious influence to bear on the Queen was not to be lost. As it would have been impossible for a priest to disguise himself without fear of recognition, it was arranged that M. Laborde should assume the *rôle* of a physician. He had a certain knowledge of chemistry and magnetism; sufficient acumen to impose on the Hovas who surrounded the Queen; and he was sufficiently trusted by the priests to warrant their belief that he would leave no stone unturned to secure her conversion to the Church of Rome. Defeated diplomatically, the Jesuits determined to win the battle of religion, which for so many years had been waged between the Romish and Anglican Churches. Once previously they had chanted pæans of victory at the departure of Bishop Ryan from the island without having achieved the baptism of Radama II. The credulous Jesuits went so far as to announce that the worthy Bishop had attached himself to the Coronation Embassy of 1862, with a determination to effect, by fair means or by foul, the enrolment of the Sovereign of Madagascar as a Christian monarch. Radama had died in the faith of his fathers; the Jesuits determined that Rasoherina should, at any rate, go through the form of Romish baptism.

For eight weeks Monsieur Laborde sustained his *rôle* of

physician, unable to find an opportunity of carrying out his designs. At last, on the 27th of March, the Queen's illness assumed a more acute form. To quote the words of Père Finaz:—"The fits were so violent that on some occasions we thought the end had come; it was then that M. Laborde, approaching the illustrious dying woman, who was in full possession of her faculties, breathed into her ears some holy thoughts suggestive of the great act about to be accomplished. She responded by raising her arms and eyes to heaven; then, as if he wished to mesmerize the patient, M. Laborde brought forward a bowl of water, dipped his hands in it, and bathed the forehead of Rasoherina, pronouncing at the same time the sacramental formula. None present had the faintest idea of the pious stratagem employed for the saving of a soul. This baptism—was it valid? Let us hope that the Queen of Madagascar was really baptized."

Not unnaturally the Catholic missionaries expressed great delight at the result of this pious stratagem, imagining that the fact of their being able to claim the dying Queen as a member of their Church would knit to their side her many supporters. Rasoherina died the day she received Catholic baptism, and it is doubtful if any of her *entourage* were aware of the fact which spread such delight amongst the Jesuits. She was succeeded by her cousin Ramoma, who, on the 2nd of April, 1868, was proclaimed Queen of Madagascar, under the title of Ranavolana II. One of her earliest acts was the issue of a proclamation continuing to all sects the privilege of carrying on religious services and religious education as heretofore. Her accession afforded another opportunity for the resumption of negotiations, and finally, in August, 1868, the French Envoy, M. Garnier, was enabled to come to an agreement with the Queen's Ministers, and on the 8th of that month a treaty, placing France on the same footing as England and America, was entered into, and Ranavolana II. was styled in the original as Queen of Madagascar; our astute neighbours, however, added as a twenty-third clause the following words:—

"The present Treaty having been translated into French and Malagese, and the two versions having been compared and

found to have exactly the same meaning, the French text will be considered as the official copy, and will be considered in all respects as valid as that in Malagese;" and in order to retain their fictitious claims over the territories on the north-west coast ceded to them in 1840 by Tsimandroho, King of the Sakalaves, the designation of the Queen in the French version ran as follows:—"La reine de l'île de Madagascar sous la réserve des droits de la France," though in the native copy the eight last words were omitted.

To many the treaty was considered humiliating. The French were not permitted to hold land except as leasehold properties, and all religious edifices were specially notified as being the property of the Queen. Her pronounced Protestant proclivities were known, and when, in February, 1869, she was baptized by an English missionary, the consternation of the French knew no bounds. This feeling was soon intensified. A proclamation was issued in the succeeding June, rescinding the concession made in 1862 by Radama of a large tract of land to the Jesuit mission. But there is no doubt that Ranavolana was much exercised at the attitude adopted by the Jesuits, not only towards the Protestants but also towards her Ministers. It was one of malevolent hostility; indeed, so dangerous an element had they become that M. Garnier, the Envoy despatched by Napoleon to carry out the Commercial Treaty, conceived it to be his duty to warn the Queen's Ministers of the dangers likely to arise from their conduct.

"Vous n'aurez pas," wrote the Ambassador, "des difficultés avec la France pour les affaires de commerce. Mais pour ce qui est de la Mission Catholique et de la liberté religieuse prenez-y-garde. L'Empereur se réserve l'avenir."

The anger and jealousy of the Jesuits reached their limit when the Queen, in July, 1869, laid the foundation-stone of a new Protestant church with great pomp and ceremony, refusing, a few weeks later, to take any official part in the dedication of the Catholic cathedral.

From this day the struggle between the Jesuits and the Queen continued; and there is good reason for believing that the Protestant missionaries were not slack in inducing Her

Majesty to prolong the contest. The Jesuits undoubtedly gave ample cause for annoyance: distributed all over the island, their houses became the meeting-place of all the disaffected spirits, and the risings of the Sakalaves may be distinctly traced to their interference. The law of the 29th March, 1880, which expelled the Jesuits from France and from French colonies, only infused fresh bitterness into the war being waged in Madagascar between Protestantism and Catholicism; but the Hovas mistook the nature of the grievance which the Government of the Republic had against the sect. Ranavolana thought she might act with like severity, and in March, 1881, she issued a decree forbidding the sale or lease of any property to foreigners. This was in violation of the Treaty of 1868, and, coupled with other injudicious acts, brought down on her the indignation of the French.

They still ignored her claim to the sovereignty of the island, and in virtue of the terms of the old Treaty with Tsimandroho, which they themselves had been the first to break, they demanded the cession of the old Sakalave territory. But Ranavolana, doubtful of the good faith of the officials from Bourbon, determined to send an embassy direct to Europe and America, with a view of obtaining a settlement of the dispute. France, however, was entering on a spirited colonial policy. Ever since the Treaty of Paris of 1814 her efforts had been directed towards a resuscitation of her authority in the Southern Indian Ocean, and the Admiral commanding the Indian station was instructed to obtain satisfaction for the fancied insults to which the Tricolour had been subjected, and to demand the recognition of French claims over the Sakalave territory.

On the 17th May, 1883, Admiral Pierre presented his ultimatum to the Commandant of Tamatave, who forwarded it to Antananarivo. It was immediately answered by a proclamation expelling all French residents from the island, and thus official warfare was commenced.

British interests in the island were of too valuable a nature to be left unrepresented during such a struggle; and Commander Johnstone, of H.M.S. *Dryad*, was ordered to proceed

to Tamatave and represent our flag in Malagayan waters. Unfortunately Admiral Pierre, a brave and gallant man, was suffering from a cruel and dangerous disease, which tended to increase a naturally irritable temper. In addition to this he was imbued with a bitter hatred of England and all things English, looking upon our country as the sworn enemy of France, and on English missionaries as the cause of all the dissensions in Madagascar. The fact, too, that our flag was represented by an insignificant force may also have had its effect on the Admiral.

The conduct of Admiral Pierre need not be dwelt upon here. Though hailed with a chorus of approval by the French Press, it was promptly disavowed by the French Government, and an indemnity of £1,000 paid to an ill-used missionary, whom the Admiral accused of acting as a Malagayan spy. The most noticeable feature in this incident was the tone adopted by Parisian and Provincial papers alike—a tone devoid of good feeling, and marked by an utter absence of responsibility. The feeling shown by the Press was echoed throughout the country, and there is no gainsaying the fact that England and France were within a measurable distance of war in July, 1883; and, what is more, the war would have been welcomed by a large—a very large—section of French society. The firm attitude of Lord Granville, the judicious statesmanship of M. Ferry, and the courteous mediation of the English-bred Minister, M. Waddington, averted a catastrophe which every Englishman resident in France dreaded.

The incident is now closed, though a state of tension still exists between France and England which requires the firmest statesmanship to avoid resulting in a rupture. The French Government still pursues towards Madagascar a policy which bids fair to end in the annexation of a greater part of the island. French Ministers, with their ideal views of colonization, point to the great African island, as they point to the peninsulas of Further India, as the future home of the rising generation of France. Like Cardinal Richelieu, they look to Madagascar as the means of reviving the stagnant commerce of the mother country; and there is a strong party in France

who think with the Ministers, and who believe that the revival of a spirited colonial policy will result in France attaining the position she held in the days of Louis XIV., or in the period of Napoleon's highest fame.

There are others who see in such a policy only further losses; and again there is a third party who, believing that colonization is the only means of regeneration for France, raise a warning finger when it is suggested to annex Madagascar. To quote one of the ablest economists France possesses, M. P. Leroy-Beaulieu:—

"Some public writers, with whom the taste for colonization is indulged in with more enthusiasm than reflection, dream of the reoccupation by France of the great island of Madagascar, and it is for this reason that they attach a fictitious importance to the small islands that we possess in its vicinity. I believe that any thought of a territorial establishment in Madagascar is impracticable, or, at any rate, premature. Too many natural difficulties exist, whether of climate or owing to the inhabitants. Any colony in this island, to be successful, must be an agricultural colony; its prosperity would depend entirely on a very considerable European immigration. France is in no condition to embark on such an undertaking, the results of which are very problematical, and, even if successful, would be long years ere they were reached. The Colonization Company, which was founded some years back in connection with Madagascar, came to nothing, despite the efforts of a most able man, because he wished to build up a colony upon the intrigues with a barbarian Court or with a barbarian potentate. In fact, Madagascar is by no means a well-selected spot on which to found a prosperous colony. It would be impossible to find more disadvantages and fewer resources. A hardy and brave population, rivers whose entrances are barred by sandbanks, stagnant lakes, which render the whole coast unhealthy, and immense, impenetrable forests, a damp, debilitating, feverish climate. The island, equidistant from the East Indies and from the Malaccas, is absolutely cut from all communication with the outer world. The choice of such an island as the central point of French colonization is in

itself a proof of the utter ignorance that exists in France of the necessary conditions for successful colonization."

Further comment on the scheme—the grand colonial scheme of the Third Republic—is useless. Here we have an eminent Frenchman, one of the acknowledged economists of the day, not merely objecting to the idea of the establishment of a French colony on an island which has seen the failure of so many similar schemes, but repudiating the Jesuitical schemes which seem to be the necessary accompaniment of all French plans for aggrandizement.

In Madagascar, as in Tonkin, France bases her claims on the flimsiest of pretexts—on treaties entered into with banished monarchs, the terms of which have been ignored by her for many years, and the reciprocal clauses of which she has never carried out. The wisdom of enforcing Western civilization by means of ironclads and breechloaders is questionable; but the action of France in endeavouring to wrest from the Queen of Madagascar the Sakalave territory, in virtue only of the worthless letter written by King Tsimandroho in 1842 (and which has since been magnified into a treaty), or the still more worthless act of annexation of M. de Flacourt in 1644, is morally and legally indefensible.

It may be that France has adopted a wise course in attempting to regain some of her ancient colonial grandeur; it remains to be seen whether such a policy will have any effect in producing that equilibrium between receipts and expenditure which is more virtually necessary to a country than mere extension of territory.

For England the colonial policy of France is fraught with the utmost danger: every additional Eastern possession added to the dominions of the Republic gives her a weightier voice in the discussion of Eastern affairs. Already the Suez Canal is the direct high road between France and actual and prospective colonies with an area of 220,000 square miles and a population of 21,000,000 souls. Already French Ministers talk of strengthening still more the communications between the mother country and her Eastern dependencies by fortifying a point in the Red Sea. Obock is destined to counteract Aden, and will necessitate

the further strengthening of Perim. Already the French Admiralty discuss the necessity of converting Ajaccio and Bizerta, in the Mediterranean, Obock, Saigon, Réunion, and Madagascar, in Eastern waters, into torpedo stations whence swift cruisers and their attendant satellites would harry our Eastern trade, whilst the other main commercial routes of Great Britain will be patrolled by French squadrons, with their coaling stations in New Caledonia, Tahiti, Martinique and Guadaloupe.

There is no shutting our eyes to the fact that the distant possessions of France are not colonies in our sense of the word, nor are they looked upon as colonies by our neighbours. They are purely military settlements, destined, in the event of war, to be strategic points whence England's trade can be crippled and England's colonies ruined. Scarcely a week passes without some leading Parisian journal betraying this sentiment, and it behoves us to act in time. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. The whole Eastern portion of the Peninsula of Further India is now overrun with French troops, and ere long our frontiers will be conterminous with those of France on the Eastern boundary of India, as they practically are with those of Russia on the Western frontier.

We may rely upon it that the harbours in Tonkin and in Madagascar will yet be used to give shelter to the squadrons which Admiral Aube and his fellow-workers are now constructing for the express purpose of ruining England's commerce—a commerce which would have found fresh outlets had our Governments shown themselves firm and prompt in putting an end to the pretensions advanced by the Republic to the island of Madagascar and the kingdom of Annam. Both of these recent French acquisitions are capable of enormous development: their mineral wealth is abundant, their soil fertile, they are watered by navigable rivers, their people are energetic and civilized. In a word, each is capable of becoming a power of itself—a power of conferring wealth on the free settler.

France, with her military settlements, her swollen bureaucracy, her prohibitive tariffs, will ruin the rising trade of these rising kingdoms, and thrust them back in the scale of civilization to the point to which her other colonies have now receded. Is

this unavoidable? It seems to me that the map of the world is much like a chess-board; it is covered with the pieces of England and of France. In the next great game, should the Republic win the first move, we shall have a hard struggle to avoid receiving a checkmate. In the last game we played, England swept the board, only at the finish to restore to France her captured knights and castles. Since then many pieces have been surreptitiously replaced, and our players unfortunately seem blind to the danger thus created.

CHAPTER XII.

OBOCK.

Its Situation — Population — Climate — Purchased by the French—Early Neglect—Recent Efforts to improve the Harbour—Trade with Central Africa—Its Value as a Commercial and Military Port—Coal in the Neighbourhood—A Shelter for Merchant Vessels and Ships of War—Home for Corsairs—Possible Source of Danger to England.

It would be difficult, even under the most liberal acceptation of the term, to style Obock a colony. Originally purchased for the purpose of opening up trade between France and the tribes on the Eastern coasts of Africa, it has failed miserably as a commercial entrepôt, and is, owing to its situation, absolutely unsuited for colonization. It figures, it is true, in the Budget of the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies, and within the last few years over £400,000 has been spent in improving the harbour and in the construction of defensive works in its vicinity, but in the "Tableaux de Population, de Culture, de Commerce et de Navigation," published under the authority of the same Minister, Obock is conspicuous by its absence.

The wild dreams indulged in when the new settlement was first brought under the French flag have long since been forgotten, and Obock is now destined to act as a check upon our own military settlement of Aden; it is to form a link in the chain of fortified posts which shall connect France with that Grand Empire in the Far East the foundations of which are once more being laid in the shifting sands of the Tonkin delta. The town of Obock is situated at the head of the Gulf of Aden, upon the northern shores of the Somali territory; it is a mere village, built upon a low rocky ridge which stands at an elevation vary-

ing from 30 to 100 feet above sea-level. Further inland the ground becomes more broken and accidental, lofty mountains running north and south separating it from the lands of the inland tribes. From the mountains innumerable watercourses descend to the sea; but they consist for the greater part of the year of mere sandy beds not entirely destitute of vegetation, a vegetation dependent on the deposit left by the occasional torrents which sweep over these sandy tracks in the short but violent rainy season. Shallow wells are sunk in the dry beds of the streams, and from them a precarious water supply is obtainable.

The population of the country is composed of Arabs, and of offshoots from the Gallas and other Soudanese tribes. They possess herds of camel and are a pastoral race, though the recent religious disturbances in the interior fomented by the Mahdi of Khartoum have induced many hitherto peaceable men to move northwards and join in the crusade against the Kafir.

The climate of the coast is extremely hot and most enervating to Europeans; it is almost insupportable; a certain number of officials, attracted by high pay and pensions, eke out a miserable existence in the place, the non-official element is composed of some half-dozen enterprising merchants, who still hope to attract the caravans of Abyssinia to a French port.

The history of the French connection with Obock is simple enough. In the year 1856, M. Henri Lambert, French Consular Agent in Aden, was entrusted by the Emperor with the task of establishing a French settlement on the west coast of the Gulf of Aden, a settlement which should combine commercial as well as strategic advantages. With this end in view Obock was purchased from a Somali Chief for the sum of two thousand pounds. Whether the chief possessed any claim to the large tract of land he thus bartered away is a vexed question. Certain it is that many claimants have arisen to portions which the French now claim as their own, and it is very clear that since the purchase was ratified the French boundaries have stretched west, and north, and south.

Eight years elapsed before the French Government took any steps to consolidate their power over the territory thus easily

acquired; the Crimean War had but just closed, and there were many obvious reasons why the Emperor should abstain from giving offence to the English. It was feared that the establishment of a strong military station within a hundred miles of Aden would be unwelcome to the nation which, having sunk past enmities, was now France's closest ally. Then the unfortunate Franco-Austrian War of 1859 supervened—a war which M. de Bourquenay, the talented Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, prophesied would be the death-knell of the Empire. Then arose troubles in China; and though the Anglo-French alliance was still at its height, the Emperor saw the drawbacks France laboured under in having no ports of call in Indian seas. The Indian Mutiny had shown the feasibility of transporting troops overland through Egypt. M. de Lesseps' half-completed scheme held out hopes that regiments embarked in Europe would be conveyed without a break to the Far East. England possessed Aden and Perim in the Red Sea, and virtually closed the southern entrance of the Suez Canal; it was necessary that France should hold a counterpoise. Attention naturally was directed to M. Lambert's purchase, and in 1864 the despatch boat *Surcouf*—happy name for a pioneer in Eastern waters—was ordered to Obock, and her commander, M. Salmon, instructed to report on the capabilities of the port. The carefully prepared plans of Lieutenant Salmon still form the basis of the charts which now are sold in the Bureaux of the Marine, but his reports were relegated to pigeon-holes, and France, plunged into European complications, was unable to devote any attention to the projects of colonial extension. After the terrible humiliation of Sédan, France, deprived of all weight in European politics, determined on adding to her distant possessions, and once more difficulties with China caused all eyes to be turned to Obock. Some thirty years previously Mayotte was to be the Gibraltar of Eastern seas, but the millions engulfed in its harbours were willingly forgotten, and Obock was selected as the spot which should bar the entrance of the Red Sea, be the coaling station for French vessels trading in Eastern waters, and afford a secure shelter to the cruisers which it is intended shall prey upon English commerce.

Piers have been constructed which give perfect shelter to craft lying in the northern harbour, lighthouses built, batteries thrown up, Custom-houses established, and a whole army of officials planted on African soil. The harbour is commodious, easy of access, and well sheltered. There are two excellent approaches—one from the northward, with a minimum depth at dead low water of 37 feet, whilst the southern entrance has double that depth. The harbour itself is sheltered from the north by cliffs some 75 feet in height; from the east by a broad sand-bank, over which the sea barely washes; on the south by a long coral reef, which at low water is uncovered; and on the west by the new pier. It is thus secure in all winds and all weathers, and has an area of about 300 acres, whilst the roadstead itself, only open to the south, is a mile in length, and half that in width.

Obock must be looked upon in three aspects—Commercial, Maritime, and Military.

As regards Commerce, it is the natural outlet for the produce of Abyssinia and the Somali country.

For Maritime purposes it is valuable as a port of refuge and as a coaling station.

Considered from the Military point of view, it is, as I have said, a link in the chain which connects France with her Eastern possessions, a menace to Aden, and a centre of one of the proposed "Groupes de Combat," which in France occupies the place of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, so far as English commerce is concerned.

Of the real wealth of Central Africa we are as yet ignorant. The Abyssinian Expedition did but little to open up the hidden riches of, till then, the unknown countries through which our armies passed; and the distances which have to be traversed ere the products of these countries can reach the sea are so enormous, that trade with them has necessarily been checked. In spite of these disadvantages, native traders have sought European markets for their wares, and have carried back into the heart of Africa Manchester goods, Sheffield cutlery, and Birmingham fire-arms. Whilst Suakin and Massowah formed the outlets for the trade of the Northern Provinces, Obock,

Tadjourah, and Zeilah formed outlets on the south; and it is the desire of the French to divert to Obock the trade which hitherto has poured into Massowah, Zeilah, and Berberah.

The roseate hues with which all French pictures of colonization are tinted compel us to accept with reserve the glowing accounts of the wealth to be found in the vicinity of Obock. British explorers, and also British soldiers, have pushed far into adjacent lands; but no signs of riches were discernible, either in the Suakin-Berber road, or in that which led from Annesley Bay to Magdala. It may be that the wealth is concentrated to the south, and that the French will derive all the material advantages that were denied us during our occupation of Massowah and Suakin.

Thus we learn that the mountain ranges which skirt the western borders of the Red Sea literally abound in precious metals, as well as in iron, copper, lead, and sulphur. Coal, too, is plentiful, and easily worked; thus giving the French squadrons in Eastern seas two stations (Obock and Haiphong, in Tonkin) from which they can draw their own fuel—rendering them independent of England for their motive-power.

In Abyssinia and the Somali country there are immense forests of valuable trees—trees whose woods gain high prices in European markets. Coffee (which, according to M. Goldtammer, is equal to the best Mocha), cotton, indigo, tobacco, and the sugar-cane are indigenous, and capable of being highly cultivated; whilst the commoner sorts of grain—wheat, barley, and maize—are abundant.

Immense flocks of sheep and herds of cattle roam over the neighbouring hills: the wool of the former, and the skins of the latter, will, it is estimated, form a very large item in the exports of the colony. Palm oil and various gums are also obtainable. Ostrich feathers, mother-of-pearl, and coral, all form articles of commerce.

In return for these products the merchants of France are invited to ship cargoes of Lyons silks and velvets of the commoner sorts, rough cotton goods, cheap glass, indifferent cutlery and ironmongery, not forgetting the much depreciated five-franc piece, which it is hoped will eventually supersede

the Maria-Therèse thaler as the currency on the shores of the Red Sea.

The commerce of Abyssinia and the Somali country is languishing for want of sufficient outlets. It is to Obock, then, that the trade of these nations is to be attracted. Its importance naturally will augment when the Abyssinians and Somalis find in this new French colony an easy market for their goods; and, as the neighbouring tribes have shown themselves well-disposed towards the French, there would seem good ground for hoping that its future may not be so colourless as is the present of so many other distant dependencies of the Republic.

Let us now consider the value of Obock to the French as a commercial port, apart from the fact that it is in course of time to become the sole outlet of trade in the Red Sea. Its value as a port depends entirely on the worth of the coal which is said to exist in its immediate neighbourhood. Aden hitherto has been the coaling station for ships of all nations. The fuel being obtained from England, and being proportionately costly, owners of vessels have endeavoured so to arrange that sufficient quantities shall be shipped to enable the passage from Suez to Bombay or to Calcutta being performed without a break. By this means port dues are avoided, and the expensive coal of Aden left untouched. Still, mail steamers, with their large passenger accommodation, have been unable to accomplish this feat; and steamers of all the great Eastern lines, such as the Peninsular and Oriental, Orient, British India, Messageries Maritimes, and Rubattino, have been in the habit of coaling at Aden. If, however, coal of good quality, and in sufficient quantity, is to be found in the near neighbourhood of Obock, a ready and enormous sale would be found for it. Not only would the merchant fleets of all nations run into Obock instead of Aden to refill their bunkers before starting on their passage across the Indian Ocean or up the Red Sea, as the case might be, but the ships of war in Eastern waters, our own East Indian squadron as well as vessels flying the German flag, would of necessity choose the cheap coal of Obock to the expensive Welsh coal of Bombay.

This one question of coal, irrespective of any theories as to the development of trade with Central Africa, will be enough to determine the future of Obock. Unfortunately here, as in Tonkin, there seems some doubt whether the coal in the neighbourhood is in sufficient quantities to repay working; and certain it is that, though so far back as 1876 it was predicted that the mines could be worked at immense profit, and with but little expense, yet, in 1886, the French despatch boat attached to the station fills her bunkers with English coal at Aden, and the produce of Central Africa has not yet been diverted from its original channels.

Colonies are not built up in a day, and French colonies in particular take long years to develop. Obock is unlikely to prove an exception to the rule. That trade may be attracted to it nobody will deny, and that individual merchants of enterprise may reap rich harvests from the new colony is also very probable; but that Europeans can successfully work indigo factories and sugar refineries within eleven degrees of the equator I refuse to believe, as also that any spot on the Red Sea can by any means fulfil the conditions necessary for the creation of a colony in the true sense of the word.

From a military point of view, Obock presents many advantages. The harbour and roadstead, as I have said, are commodious and well sheltered, and can be easily defended by batteries placed on the cliffs which command the entrances. Giving shelter, as the French Minister of Marine intends it shall, to one of his dangerous "Groupes de Combat"—composed of one swift cruiser, two gun-vessels, and eight torpedo-boats —Obock would practically close the Red Sea to English commerce; unless, indeed, a second and more powerful squadron was located at Aden. Defended with powerful batteries, which even now are in course of construction, it will give the French a coaling station in a most important situation, midway between the neutral territories of the Khédive and their own islands of Réunion and Madagascar, and afford a convenient break between the Mediterranean and Cochin-China.

Obock is no colony, as I said before, but it is an important military settlement, which bids fair—if the French continue

to spend as much money on its improvement in the future as they have done in the past—to neutralize Aden, and to necessitate very great care and watchfulness on our part to prevent its crippling our Eastern trade, should hostilities ever again arise between France and England. France has not been wanting in her efforts to obtain commanding positions in the Red Sea. It is not long since an attempt was made to lay claim to the actual headlands of the Straits of Babel Mandeb, which it was hoped could be converted, at a small cost, into the very key of the Indian Ocean: this project was nipped in the bud. Since then, under the pretence of founding a colony in Tadjourah Bay, close on half a million has been spent in constructing piers and wharves, public buildings and lighthouses, batteries and magazines, around Obock; and plans are in existence which provide for still heavier expenditure.

History shows us that we have little cause to dread the military value of French colonies. They have always fallen into our hands with but little trouble, and with but trifling loss; but, unfortunately, their reduction has never been decided on till the corsair fleets, which have found shelter under their guns, have worked havoc with our mercantile marine. The gallant dealings of Surcouf and other privateers in the Indian Ocean compelled us to undertake the capture of the Mauritius and Bourbon; and there is no doubt that in the next great war the Declaration of Paris will remain a dead letter, and that from the harbours of Obock and of the French islands in the Southern Indian Ocean fresh Surcoufs will issue forth to prey on English commerce, and to bring down once more on French colonies England's just resentment. The situation of Obock is such that it will doubtless be one of the first to join in the crusade against us, and one of the first to fall into our hands. We then should command two admirable ports at the southern entrance of the Red Sea, and might rest satisfied that our Eastern trade was beyond the possibility of injury.

CHAPTER XIII

TUNIS.

Continuity of French Action in the Regency—Early History of Tunis—Louis IX. dies there in 1270—Treaty between the King of Tunis and the Kings of Sicily, Navarre, and France—Invasion by Charles VI. of France—Continual War between Sicily and Tunis—Invasion by Emperor Charles V.—Tunis conquered by the Turks—Power vested in the Deys—French Fleets bombard the Coast in 1683 and 1685—Overthrow of the Deys by Turkish Soldiery—In the Eighteenth Century French Fleets appear off Goletta on many Occasions—Tribute paid to the Bey by all European Powers and by United States—In 1799 the Bey declares War with the Republic—Gigantic Sums paid by Catholic Societies to repurchase Slaves—Lord Exmouth puts an End to Slavery—French Conquest of Algeria—Financial Difficulties of the Bey—French and Italian Rivalry in the Mediterranean—France determines to chastise the Kroumirs—French Troops invade the Regency—Treaty wrung from the Bey—Probable Results of French Power.

TUNIS, of all the possessions France has recently added to her dominions, must be considered the most important. Tonkin may confer upon her the command of the China seas, and open up to her vast markets in the most populous country in the world; Madagascar may enable her to paralyze commerce in the Southern Indian Ocean, and may bestow upon her the untold riches of that great African island; Obock may enable her to hermetically seal the southern entrance to the Suez Canal, but Tunis places in her hands the Mediterranean, gives her a coast line on that sea some nine hundred miles in length, nullifies to a very great extent the strategical value of Gibraltar and Malta, gives her harbours second to none in the world, converts her into an important Mahomedan power, and makes her the civilized mistress of Northern Africa.

France has dared to do in Tunis what we have shrunk from doing in Egypt; she has braved the Porte, and shown decaying Islam that a Christian Power, by a mere show of force, can overawe and trample down the emasculated efforts of the Mahomedan population of a Power which but a century ago claimed tribute from all the sovereigns of Europe, terrorized the Mediterranean, and even ventured to send its corsairs as far as the British Channel.

The history of the absorption of weak States into stronger ones is rarely edifying reading. Where might is right, arbitrary actions often cut the Gordian knot of interminable discussions, and a perusal of the negotiations which led up to the French Protectorate over Tunis scarcely gives the reader a friendly feeling towards the Republic or towards its agents. History, however, teaches us English that our records with Native States in the Far East have not always been blameless, and we should be the last to cast stones at those who enlarge their boundaries by means we ourselves have never hesitated to use.

In acting as she has done towards Tunis, France has followed the diplomatic line she embarked on in the conquest of Algeria. Since then it has been the fixed idea of each succeeding Government to maintain the preponderance of French influence in Tunis. That Province was not merely the key of Algeria, it is the key of the Mediterranean. In the hands of the Turks, it enabled the Sultan to stir up religious warfare amongst the Mahomedan population of Algeria; in the hands of another European Power, it would have wrested from France all semblance of strength in the Mediterranean. Whenever Turkey sought to re-establish her ascendency in the Regency, a French squadron appeared to support the demands of the Quai d'Orsay; when other Powers strove to gain the ascendency over the Bey, diplomatic measures of a nicer sort had to be resorted to; but whether her opponent was Turkey or Italy, or even England, France had but one end in view, and that was to prevent any Power but herself obtaining an ascendency in the Province. To gain this end she has violated pledges, she has torn up treaties, she has waged an unjustifiable war, and she has shed much innocent blood—but she has succeeded; and now

Tunis, though nominally under the protection, is in reality a colony of France.

For Tunis itself, and for the world at large, such a result will be undoubtedly beneficial. The people will be relieved from the intolerable exactions of their unscrupulous rulers, a firm, even Government will replace the unjust, capricious tyranny of the Beys, taxation will be equalized, religious tolerance enforced, commerce encouraged, and the country and its finances no longer the sport of concession-hunting speculators.

A brief sketch of the history of its past under Mahomedan rule may serve to bring into brighter contrast what we may anticipate for its future, now that it has passed under the domination of a Christian Power. War, piracy, and rebellion were its normal state, no single beneficial measure was ever initiated by Dey or Bey, and those insisted on by the Ambassadors of European States were never carried out without severe external pressure.

To carry back the history of Tunis to the old Carthaginian days would be of little interest, though a cursory glance at the part it played on the world's stage even in that bygone period is sufficient to show what value attached to the cities which overshadowed the land-locked harbours on the Southern Mediterranean, and how capable they were of making their power felt from the shores of Spain to those of Syria. My task is chiefly to trace the connection of France with its new dependency, and to do this one must go back to the days of the Eighth Crusade, when the good Saint Louis, at the head of 60,000 men, landed on the shores of Carthage, in order to impose the Christian religion on the new Mahomedan principality which had freshly sprung up in the old kingdom of the Almohades.

Strategic reasons, which in discussing the Tunisian question can never be lost sight of, weighed heavily on Louis IX. "Tunis," said that monarch, "faces Sicily, and is on the high road to the Holy Land. Tunis can always harass our communications with the East; we must leave no enemies behind us, we must therefore conquer it first of all."

On the 17th of July, 1270, King Louis anchored off Cape

Carthage. His landing was unopposed, but no sooner were his troops entrenched amidst the ruins of the great city than a guerilla warfare commenced, of which one is strangely reminded when reading the reports of the campaign waged by Louis' successors six centuries later. Again has history repeated itself in other details. Sickness stepped in to aid the Moslem hosts, and dysentery and fever claimed far more victims than the sword. The pestilence which ravaged the invading armies was no respecter of persons. Amongst the first to succumb were Tristan, the French King's son; with him died the Counts of Nemours, of Montmorency, and of Vendome, whilst the Pope's Legate and the King of Navarre were within ten days of landing also struck down by the same fell disease. Louis IX., full of religious zeal and fervour, spared himself nothing in visiting the sick; and in encouraging his men he, too, fell a victim to the plague, and died on the 20th of August of the same year. The French, enraged at their losses, pushed on the campaign with vigour, aided by King Charles of Sicily, who had landed the day after Louis' death. It was to the interest of the French, as well as to the Sicilians, to force on a peace before the arrival of the English Crusaders under Edward I., who were daily expected; and shortly before that prince arrived a treaty was entered into between the King of Tunis, Philip the Hardy of France, Charles of Sicily, and Thibault of Navarre, by which the King engaged himself to protect French and Italian subjects in his kingdom, to pay a war indemnity of 210,000 ounces of gold, a yearly tribute to the King of Sicily of 24,000 ounces, and to restore all prisoners languishing in his dungeons. Edward of England arrived off Cape Carthage a few days after the treaty was signed, and was so indignant at the manner in which it had been wrung from the Moslem King, that he refused to disembark his men. The three other Christian monarchs remained some months longer in the country, in order to assist the Tunisian King in raising a corps of Christian soldiery, who, whilst serving in his pay, were destined to protect the lives and property of European merchants dwelling in Tunis; to act, as it were, as a body-guard to the Consuls, and to ensure the prompt collection and payment of the Sicilian tribute.

From time to time we find this corps mentioned in various treaties, and we also have traces of them in certain Papal Bulls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In these Bulls they are enjoined to offer aid to Catholic missionaries, and to assist in the release of the many thousand Europeans who from time to time were captured by Tunisian corsairs. As early as the thirteenth century, we find these corsairs ravaging the whole Mediterranean, and we also find the Venetians, as well as the Sicilians and French, taking retaliatory measures for their suppression.

The bitter memories of the pestilential campaign of 1270 were not soon forgotten, and no fresh efforts were made to coerce the Tunisians into the due fulfilment of their treaty engagements. Squadrons of war-ships would ravage the coast, lay waste the islands, and throw shot into the seaport towns, but no attempts were made to land an army, in order to compel the Kings to conform to the Treaty of Carthage. The Tunisians were quick to profit by the immunity granted them, and piracy throve and prospered; raids were made on the coasts of Spain and of Sicily, and on one occasion the Bishop of Syracuse was seized on the steps of his own altar and carried off to Gabes.

At irregular intervals, stirred up by the brutal cruelties of the Arab pirates, European Powers would make spasmodic efforts to purge the southern shores of the Mediterranean of their noxious habitants, but these expeditions were ever conducted in a half-hearted way. At the close of the fourteenth century Charles VI. of France sent an army, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, to coerce the King of Tunis. With the Duke were the Counts of Artois and of Clermont, Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, the Duke of Beaufort, and 300 Genoese galleys; but the expedition effected nothing, and on its return to France Burgundy fell into disgrace.

Throughout this period war between Sicily and Tunis was incessant. The memory of the humiliating Treaty of 1270 rankled in the breasts of the Tunisians, and they sturdily refused to pay the tribute agreed to. It was one thing to sign

a treaty with the armies of France, of Navarre, and of Sicily thundering at your gates, and the fleet of England lying in the offing; it was another to conform to that treaty, with only Sicily ready to enforce it. And Sicily fought on to maintain her supremacy, but she fought with doubtful success, and finally was glad, in the early part of the fifteenth century, to conclude a peace renouncing all claim to tribute.

Throughout the fifteenth century the Moslems of Tunis were at war with the Christian world. From time to time treaties would be made between the Kings of Tunis and other Powers, but these treaties were made only to be broken. The slave markets of the kingdom were filled with Christians of every nation, and the coffers of the State were rich with the ingots which members of various religious orders scattered abroad, in order to secure the freedom of their co-religionists.

In the sixteenth century (1535) Charles V. conquered the country, released all the Christian captives, and then restored the dethroned monarch to the kingdom on his acknowledging the suzerainty of Spain, and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 piastres, the Emperor, on his part, guaranteeing to defend Tunis from foreign invasion. The people, however, viewed with little favour Spanish intervention, and for nearly forty years endless revolts and endless war ravaged the country. In 1572 Don Juan of Austria landed with a powerful army, and subdued the country on behalf of his brother, Philip II.; no sooner had he left the shores of Africa than Sinan Pasha, a renowned corsair, appeared off Goletta and reduced Tunis to the position of a dependency of the Sublime Porte. From the 3rd September, 1573, Tunisian coin has always been struck in the Sultan's name, and Tunisian rulers have ever received their investiture from Stamboul. In 1853, Marshal Pellissier, writing on this point, says, "The Pachalik of Tunis is altogether under the suzerainty of Turkey; the power of the Grand Signor is recognized by law, but more in a theological than in a political point of view. The money is struck in his name, and each day at noon his glory and his virtues are proclaimed by a herald before an empty arm-chair, which represents his throne; whilst the Kutba, or Friday's

prayer, has been uniformly recited in the name of the reigning sovereign of the Osmanlis."

Until the opening of the eighteenth century, Tunis was under the dominion of Deys, who paid tribute and owned allegiance to the Sultan. If piracy flourished under the ancient Kings, it progressed even more favourably under the modern Deys. All Europe was held at bay, and tribute demanded—aye, and paid—by Christian sovereigns to these Moslem robbers. That France and England were subjected to the same treatment that was meted out to the petty States of Italy is evident, and not the many bombardments their seaports suffered at the hands of the Western Powers, or the many threatening missives received, served to curb one jot the pride of the Deys, or to induce them to hold in check their piratical fleets. In 1665 an English fleet, under Admiral Black, bombarded Porta Farina, disembarked a strong landing party, and released all Christian slaves. Seven years later a French fleet performed the same feat at Goletta.

On each occasion the Dey signed treaties with the successful Powers—treaties which were disregarded as soon as the flags of England or of France had sunk below the horizon. Our Consuls and Envoys were treated with contumely, and made to conform to the most humiliating customs, on entering the presence of the barbarous ruler of this Turkish province. In 1685, finding their treaty systematically broken, the French despatched another fleet to Goletta, and wrung fresh concessions from the timorous Dey—timorous only in the actual presence of danger; for, on receipt of the news of the intended approach of the French fleets, Baba Hassa, the ruling Dey, released French captives, and willingly acquiesced in all demands, only to fall back into his old evil cruelties when d'Estrée's fleet had returned to Toulon.

French records give the names of many an unfortunate captive burnt alive by order of these cowardly miscreants, who, despite their cowardice and their weakness, terrorized the Mediterranean, and held all Europe in contempt.

In 1705 the Turkish soldiers, weary of the cruelties of their rulers, rose, deposed and murdered the Dey (history says they

also ate him), and proclaimed one of their own number Bey in his room. The descendants of Houssain Ben Ali, the chosen of the Moslem soldiery, reigned in Tunis uninterruptedly from the opening of the eighteenth century until the present day, when the actual ruler, now no longer a servant of the Porte, does the bidding of the French Resident, and leads a life of ease and contentment under the careful guardianship of the Tricolour.

The change of the initial consonant in the style and title of the rulers of Tunis worked no striking benefit in the administration of the country. The same hopeless anarchy reigned within its borders; pirates scoured the Mediterranean, harrying the lesser ports of France, Spain, and Italy; the Consular representatives of the great European Powers were still subjected to the most humiliating treatment, and Christian merchants carried on their profession merely on sufferance.

France seems to have suffered much from Tunisian pirates in the early days of the Beys. In 1708 all diplomatic intercourse between the two countries was suspended; and though, two years later, a fresh treaty was entered into, this had but little effect in checking the depredations of the lawless corsairs of Goletta. Remonstrances and threats being useless, in 1728 a French squadron appeared off the capital, and the Bey was compelled to enter into substantial guarantees for his good behaviour. Guarantees however, as we know full well, are of little value when extorted by force from an Oriental potentate, and, seven years later, we find a Tunisian embassy despatched to Paris, to apologize for the conduct of pirates who had captured two French craft off Cephalonia, and sold their crews publicly in the market-place of Gabes.

In 1740 an open rupture took place; the French accusing the Bey of encouraging piracy, while he, on his part, retaliated by accusing France of inciting rebellion in his kingdom. The French Consul was threatened with death, French commercial establishments were razed to the ground, and the island of Tabarca, a Genoese possession, which it was rumoured was about to be sold to France, was occupied by Tunisian troops. France at once took steps for bringing the Bey to reason, but

war breaking out with England, matters were, of necessity, smoothed over.

It is difficult to understand the reasons which induced powerful Christian States to submit tamely to the insolent demands of a Mahomedan puppet, who was powerless to maintain order in his own dominions, and yet exacted the most absurd and abject ceremonials from European Consuls. In 1753 we read of the French Consulate being pillaged and burnt, in 1756 the same scene was re-enacted. The following year the French Consul was threatened with death and thrown into prison; and in 1770, wearied of the Bey's promises, France despatched a fleet to Carthage, and bombarded Bizerta, Susa, and Porta Farina; but, on the intervention of the Turkish Ambassador, a hollow truce was agreed on—a truce by no means pleasing to French susceptibilities. The Bey agreed to recognize Corsica as a portion of the French kingdom, but he declined to sanction the reconstruction of the mercantile settlements destroyed some years previously, and whilst renewing to France the right of coral fishery on the coast, demanded from her heavy pecuniary subsidies, which were paid; these payments, of course, being looked upon by the Bey and his Tunisian subjects as tribute.

And now commences the long history of French and English rivalry on the shores of the Mediterranean, a rivalry which still exists, and will continue to exist until the millennium, but which, so far as Tunis is concerned, has been set at rest for ever by the determined action of France in placing the Regency under her own protection. In 1777 the French once more endeavoured to obtain possession of the island of Tabarca; but England interfered, and as the two nations were then at war, it may readily be inferred, from the tone of the letters that passed between George III. and the piratical Bey, that England used substantial arguments in order to support her requests.

The Court of Saint James was not the only Christian Court that deigned to offer gold to the rulers of Tunis. Austria, in 1784, paid a considerable sum of money in order that the ports of the Regency might be opened to Austrian trade; and

the Bey further insisted on a heavy annual tribute being remitted to him so long as the privilege remained in force.

At the same time, Denmark paid 15,000 sequins annually for a similar concession; and though the Republic of Venice sternly refused to accede to a like demand, and shelled Susa, Sfax, and Goletta, in revenge for the ravages of Tunisian pirates, two years later the Venetians also agreed to pay the Bey 40,000 sequins for the same privilege. Spain, Holland, and America entered into treaties of a like nature, the former Power paying 100,000 piastres, the latter £20,000 and twenty-eight cannon, with a full complement of ammunition.

Small wonder that the Beys became puffed up with pride, and ascribed the incomprehensible conduct of Christian kings to their own invincibility. No sooner was the American treaty signed than a Tunisian squadron appeared off the coasts of Sardinia, and carried away the entire population of the island of San Pietro into slavery; and three months later, seeing Republican France hard pressed by Monarchical Europe, the Bey, in accordance with instructions from Constantinople, declared war against France, and sent his fleet to aid the English squadron at the mouth of the Nile. The next year, however, a truce was entered on, and in 1802 a formal treaty was signed, under the terms of which the Bey guaranteed to release all French prisoners in his dominions, and faithfully to carry out the provisions of the old Treaty of 1742. Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt undoubtedly created a profound impression throughout the Mahomedan world. It was the first invasion of a Mahomedan country by a Christian Power since the days of the Crusades. Far different from the attempts of Russia to tear down the crescent from the cupola of Saint Sophia, it was looked upon by Islam as the recrudescence of the old idea which animated Christian sovereigns six hundred years before; and contingents from East and West, from the shores of the Persian Gulf, and from the furthest confines of Morocco, poured into Egypt to oust the infidel invader. On the expulsion of the French by the English armies under Hutchinson and Baird, all ostensible cause of hostility was removed, and by the

Treaty of 1802 a nominal peace was established between the Bey and the Republic.

But though peace with France was concluded, the Bey was still on bad terms with other European Powers. Spain and Holland were made to feel the weight of his wrath, and forced to purchase his good graces by presents of ships of war and of money.

With all Europe paying him tribute, it is no matter for surprise that the Bey should have looked scornfully on his neighbour of Algiers. The war which lasted for six years between these two Mahomedan States, and which only ended in 1809, should have convinced the Great Powers of the real weakness of the Regency, and ought to have been enough to have induced them to tolerate his conduct no more. There seems, however, to have been an erroneous idea of the Bey's strength, for in 1810 Spain and England both tendered apologies for acts said to have been committed by ships of war of their respective nations, and in violation of international law.

More than this, England as well as France humbled themselves before the Bey in order to secure his alliance. In 1810 we paid the piratical Pasha 100,000 dollars in order to purchase a treaty between Tunis and Sicily, then occupied by British troops, and although it became necessary to order the Mediterranean Fleet, under Admiral Freemantle, into Tunisian waters in order to enforce our demands, we deemed it wise, in the interests of peace, to pay over to the Bey what he was pleased to term English tribute.

France now endeavoured to purchase a similar treaty on behalf of Naples; but the price of such commodities had risen since the French Navy had sunk in the waters of Cape Trafalgar, and Hamouda Pasha demanded 400,000 dollars for privileges which he had granted to the British Admiral for a quarter of that sum.

In spite of these treaties, piracy flourished, and slavery was rampant throughout the Regency. And no wonder, so long as the Bey could command vast sums for worthless treaties; and so long as Christian Societies were willing to repurchase Chris-

tian slaves from their Mahomedan captors, it was evident that piracy and slavery would never die.

It has been computed by Cardinal Lavigerie that between the years 1198 and 1787 various Roman Catholic missions had purchased the freedom in Tunisian markets of 1,400,000 prisoners, at a cost of *three hundred and thirty-six million pounds!* In addition to these numbers, determined on, it must be remembered, after the most careful researches, many hundreds of thousands of prisoners had been released from the dungeons of Bizerta, Susa, Sfax, and Goletta, on the armed intervention of the fleets of the various Great Powers, whilst vast numbers had been freed by agencies distinct from those working under the Church of Rome.

At the Treaty of Vienna, in 1815, the question of piracy and slavery in the Mediterranean came up for discussion, and it was determined that an armed force should be exercised to put down what was felt to be a standing insult to the Great Powers. Lord Exmouth and the British Fleet were entrusted with the civilizing mission, and the Bey, taking warning by the fate of Algiers, which had refused to accept the mandate of the British Admiral, agreed, after some demur, to the proposed terms.

Lord Exmouth's bloodless victory caused immense excitement in the Regency; an insurrection broke out, and the Tunisian Navy openly refused to agree to the terms of the new treaty. Suiting their actions to their words, they actually set sail for the English Channel, captured a Bremen ship within one hundred miles of the Lizard, and endeavoured to sell their prize in an English port. Again, with a strange want of firmness, vague diplomatic remonstrances were resorted to; and though the Bey once more promised compliance to our wishes, even these promises were not exacted until a combined Anglo-French fleet had appeared in Tunisian waters. This was in 1820, and three years later a fresh outrage was committed in seizing some Greek passengers on board an English vessel, in defiance of the remonstrances of our Consul. Again it was found necessary to despatch a British fleet to Goletta, and again the Bey was profuse in promises of amendment.

In 1830 came the French conquest of Algeria, and from this date French interests in Tunis became intensified, and it was evident to the casual observer that the annexation of Tunis by France was a mere question of time. Every effort was made to strengthen French influence within the Regency, to the exclusion of all other Powers. France boldly set the lead in abolishing the humiliations to which Consular officials were subjected when entering the Bey's presence. In 1836, M. Schewbel, the French Consul, was instructed to refuse to kiss the Bey's hand, and, after much discussion, Sidi Mustapha agreed to abolish the ridiculous custom. Thus was struck the first blow against the inordinate pretensions of the Beys of Tunis.

France now seems to have endeavoured to set the Bey against the Porte, possibly thinking that the annexation of the Regency would be much simplified if the Bey had previously thrown off the Sultan's yoke. Sir Thomas Reade, the English Consul-General, appears to have divined the intentions of the French Ministry, and he sought, by all the means in his power, to strengthen the bonds which united the Regency to its Suzerain. The Beys, however, saw themselves between two stools. English advice seemed disinterested enough, but it was doubtful whether it was preferable to become a mere province of Turkey, or to be annexed to France. The Bey clearly saw political extinction in the future, and he vainly struggled against the inevitable.

It is invariably the case in Oriental States that the authority of the ruler extends but a short distance from the capital in remote districts. Governors and sub-Governors enjoy undisputed sway, and distant tribes are more or less independent. Tunis was no exception to the rule, and from the moment that the French made themselves masters of Algeria, endless troubles arose with the frontier tribes on the western borders of the Regency.

These tribes owned but scant allegiance to the Bey; for centuries they had been accustomed to carry on raids into Algerian territory, for centuries they had been wont to endure similar attacks. It would be hard to throw the blame entirely

on the dwellers in Tunisia, for doubtless their fellow-Mahomedans on the other side of the frontier line had given quite as much provocation as they had received. The Beys of Algiers and of Tunis had allowed these petty raids to pass unnoticed, but a great Power like France was not likely to tolerate such a state of anarchy. Russia and England have felt the disadvantages of possessing such neighbours in Asia, and we can spare some sympathy to France when she found it impossible to induce the Bey to hold his border clans in check.

With all the good will in the world, the Bey was powerless to act. Civilization had spread to his territories, and, like many another Oriental potentate, Mahomed-es-Sadib found some temporary relief from the cares of State in financial reform. The financial reform of the Mahomedan ruler consists in repeated applications to the money-markets of the West, and, like his Suzerain, the Sultan, and his brother-ruler, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Bey of Tunis sought salvation in a foreign loan. This simple method of raising money proved so attractive that, within a very few years, the Regency was crippled with debt. The reaction now came, creditors became pressing, extra imposts were ordered; but the Bey's writ ran not in the Arab camps away from the capital, and distant provinces refused to pay fresh taxes, except at the point of the sword, and the treasury was unable to pay the troops destined to make the enforced collection.

The grasp of France was gradually tightening, numerous creditors were pressing for payment, and their claims were supported by energetic remonstrances from the Christian Consuls. A century previously such a catastrophe would have been promptly met. Creditor and Consul would have been strangled in the Bardo; but the Beys of Tunis sorrowfully had seen their power gradually wither away, and when in 1869 a financial crash was imminent, the Bey recognized the inevitable and sanctioned the appointment of an International Financial Commission.

Napoleon III., thoroughly alive to the strategical value of Tunis, and aware of the immense hold over the Bey that the control of this Financial Commission would give him, strove hard to

carry out the reform single-handed; but Italy and England were too much interested in the matter to allow the International Commission to degenerate into a French control, and finally the Emperor had to content himself with the nomination of an Inspector of Finance, who would look after French interests; the other nations being merely represented by native gentry.

The outbreak of the Franco-German War put an end for a time to French supremacy in the Regency. There is no doubt that had England at this epoch been properly represented in Tunis, and had our Foreign Office been in the hands of a far-seeing man, England would have gained a position in the country which would have effectually put an end to French ideas of protection. An English company was laying a railway from Goletta to Tunis, an English bank was in full swing, enjoying the confidence of foreigners and natives alike; other English firms were supplying the town with water and with gas; and English agriculturalists were busy in developing the resources of the country, which up till now had been left in darkness. But, alas! with the ball at our feet the game was lost, owing to the perverse ignorance of the Foreign Office, and the French, recovering from the crushing effects of the war of 1870, rushed in and carried our ball through the goals.

In 1875 M. Theodore Roustan was appointed French Consul-General, and from that day the real issue of the Tunisian question was never doubtful, though the intentions of the Republic were concealed until the return of M. Waddington from the Congress of Berlin, with the verbal assurance of Prince Bismarck that Germany would willingly acquiesce in a French move to Carthage. Up till 1878 France had coquetted with Italy. It was well known that any decided action on the part of France would awaken disagreeable suspicions in the eyes of Italy, and, mindful of the alliance between Germany and Victor Emmanuel in 1866, the Republic of France was not anxious to provoke Italian susceptibilities until certain of German support. That Italy had very strong views on the Italian question was well known. In 1857 Mazzini had written, "One of our principal paths to progress will be a mission of civilization, to be carried out at the first possible opportunity, on the shores of

Tunis. Just as Morocco belongs to Spain, and Algeria to France, so does Tunis, the key of the centre of the Mediterranean, belong to Italy. The Roman flag floated on Mount Atlas after the fall of Carthage, and up to the fifth century we were masters of the country. The French have now cast their eyes upon it, and they will have it too in a short time if we are not up and doing."

But Italy was not up and doing, and M. Roustan soon became virtual ruler in Tunis. Ever and anon the Bey would strive to throw off the French yoke, but the appearance of a French squadron off Goletta, with the submission of an ever-ready ultimatum, which it would seem that the French Consul-General carried always prepared in his pocket, never failed to bring the Bey to reason. Roustan's diplomatic victories were not always achieved with clean hands, but the end justified the means, and the Consul-General knew full well he had the whole Ferry Ministry at his back.

On the many commercial disputes between French and Italian subjects I do not intend to enter; these were always made the vehicle for a lively interchange of diplomatic notes, and served to warn Europe that France meant to tolerate no interference but her own with the affairs of Tunis. Suffice to say that in April, 1881, the French, suddenly throwing off the mask, determined to push an Army Corps into Tunis from Algeria, in order to punish a border clan, the Kroumirs, for their repeated violations of French territory. In vain the Bey maintained that he was in a position to enforce obedience amongst the Kroumirs, and despatched an expedition under his own son to the western frontier for that purpose.

Writers hostile to the French assert that Kroumir raids were manufactured in Paris, and the term *chasse aux Kroumirs* passed for a witticism in France itself. The campaign was an undoubted fiasco, wretchedly organized and wretchedly planned; and had an enemy of worth been met with, the French would most certainly have experienced some signal disaster. Military men of all shades of political opinion condemned the campaign in no measured terms, averring that it exposed the weakness of the whole French military system, and the utter incompetency of

their generals. The mishaps that occurred have been greatly exaggerated, owing to that blind political partisanship which makes the Army in France the shuttlecock of Ministries, and the butt for all the venom and all the satire of an Opposition press.

If the object of the campaign had been merely the assumption of the Protectorate that would have been quickly realized; but the French apparently failed to recognize that their difficulties would only commence when it became known throughout the Regency that a Christian had been substituted for a Mahomedan ruler. Then all those discontented with the Bey's Government would band together, a common religion would unite them in one bond of union, the fanaticism of Islam would be aroused, and the country embarked in a religious war which would require immense efforts to stamp out. How often has it happened in our own history that the troubles of a campaign have commenced when we have looked on that campaign as terminated! In Burmah in 1826, in 1852, and again in 1885, in Afghanistan in 1839 and in 1879, the General's congratulatory orders to the troops on the successful result of the campaign have been but the prelude to renewed operations of a more serious nature, and usually far more prolonged and wider in extent than the opening phases of the war.

So it was in Tunis. Late in April, 1881, two French columns crossed the Algerian frontier, moving direct on Beja and Kef, whilst almost simultaneously naval expeditions appeared off Tabarca and Bizerta. The Bey was in no position to resist. Some opposition was anticipated on the part of the Kroumirs, the frontier clan inhabiting the mountains which separate Algeria from Tunis; but the 25,000 fighting men who compose this tribe submitted without a murmur to the orders of the Bey, and the French advanced, practically unopposed, on Kef and Beja. At the same time the Bizerta column, moving south, appeared under the walls of the capital; and on the 12th of May, the Bey, paralyzed by the rapid movements and strongly-emphasized demands of the French, signed a treaty recognizing the French Protectorate. Although no opposition was offered by the Regency troops, the Bey had made some feeble written

protests against the actions of the French Commanders; and the answers accorded him shows that territorial aggrandizement, and not the punishment of the Kroumirs, was the real purport of the expedition.

On learning that the French columns were massed on the frontier, and that no acknowledgment had been vouchsafed to his despatch announcing the departure of the heir apparent to the Kroumir country, the Bey addressed a letter, through Ali Bey, then commanding on the frontier, to the French Commander-in-chief, demanding a detailed list of the offences urged against the border clans, in order that he might take cognizance of them.

To this demand the French Commander, General Forgemol, wrote—

"We have received your letter, by which you demand a list of our reclamations, and details of the crimes which the French Government alleges to have been committed by the Khamirs and other mountain tribes.

"We have on several occasions communicated to you the whole details of these occurrences, and it is therefore unnecessary and superfluous to repeat them again. We have orders to punish the tribes which have committed these aggressions, and against which you have been impotent to act. We can only obey these orders, but this does not prevent the maintenance of the friendship which has existed for centuries between the two countries."

On the following morning information reached the Bey that the French column had actually crossed the frontier, and simultaneous protests were forwarded to M. Roustan, the Consul-General, and to the Commander-in-Chief, whilst at the same time a despatch was telegraphed to Lord Granville.

The Bey of Tunis to M. Roustan, Consul-General of France—

"Our Governor of Kef informs us that a French military column has entered the territory of the Tunisian tribe of Sharen and threatens the city of Kef. The Governor of Beja also informs us that another body of French troops has

penetrated into the Khamir territory. The invasion of our Regency has taken place without any notice to our Government, and at a time when you yourself admit that peace exists between Tunis and France. We declare this invasion of our territory to be a violation of the Laws of Nations. We therefore solemnly protest against it in our own name and in that of His Majesty the Sultan, of whose empire Tunis is an integral part, and must appeal to the justice of the Great Powers. We declare the French Republic to be solely responsible for the consequences which may ensue from this invasion of our State."

The Consul-General now shielded himself behind the military officers, who by his policy had been called on to the scene, and contented himself with a mere formal acknowledgment of the despatch. General Forgemol, however, ignoring the Bey altogether, addressed his answer to the heir apparent, then encamped amongst the Khamirs, who was even then using his authority successfully in inducing them to abstain from opposing the French. The General's letter is worthy of record. It proves him to have been as astute a diplomatist as he was gallant as a soldier. Taking no notice whatever of the Bey's protest at the violation of his territory, the General wrote—

"We have received your second letter, to which we now answer. We have the honour to inform your Highness that our troops have entered on Tunisian territory in accord with the Bey of Tunis, as we are informed by the Minister of War of France. According to this same understanding, the Tunisian troops are to give us free access into the country of the enemies whom we have come to punish, and in consequence they must be ordered to retire to such positions as we shall point out.

"L. Forgemol."

It is difficult to unravel the tangled skeins of Oriental duplicity, and it may be that the Bey was throughout acting in concert with M. Roustan, and that the protests forwarded to that official, to the French Generals, to the British Foreign Office and to the Sultan, were merely penned with a view of

setting himself straight with his Mahomedan co-religionists. Otherwise it is impossible to realize the attitude adopted by men of honour, such as the French Generals undoubtedly were.

As we have seen, the Bey's verbal protests were of little avail. The French columns closed around on him, and on the 12th of May he resigned the charge of the Regency into the hands of the French General. On the following day M. Roustan was named Minister Plenipotentiary of the First Class, and Minister Resident at Tunis, and General Bréart was decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Nishan, or Tunisian order of chivalry.

With the virtual deposition of the Bey French troubles commenced. The Arabs at once threw off all semblance of allegiance to an authority which they fully believed had sold them to a Christian Power, and the French Commanders found that they were face to face with a warfare similar to that which had afforded their troops such an excellent training ground in Algeria for more than half a century. The extreme heat of the season and ignorance of the country, however, soon put a stop to the irregular warfare which would be necessary in order to ensure the pacification of the country, and the Minister of War contented himself with placing powerful garrisons in Tunis, Bizerta, Kef, Tabarca, Beja, and other centres of disaffection, and in publishing an order of the day, which must have been highly satisfactory to the troops employed in this bloodless campaign.

The "Order of the Day" was merely intended to throw dust in the eyes of the public; the Minister was well aware that the French were masters of the various places they had garrisoned, the enemy masters of everything outside; and he also knew that fresh and supreme exertions would be necessary ere peace would reign in Tunis. Anarchy was rampant everywhere, religious animosities were now fairly aroused, and, remembering Algeria, the French prepared to strike hard. Reinforcements were poured into the country, and in September, when the approach of the cool season permitted the resumption of hostilities, 40,000 French soldiers stood on Tunisian soil.

Then, and not till then, General Saussier, the new Com-

mander-in-Chief, was able to act with vigour, and he at once determined on a plan of campaign which should not merely strike at the insurgents in the mountains, but, by depriving them of all communication with the towns, starve them into submission. He also determined to strike at their religion, and, by occupying the sacred city of Khairwan, prove to them that the military superiority of France enabled it to laugh to scorn the fabled assistance of the Prophet.

The campaign was productive of some sharp fighting, but the losses received at the hands of the enemy were as nothing compared to those by sickness. On all sides the loudest complaints were heard of the inefficiency of the Commissariat and Medical arrangements. Of the actual French losses no full reports have been published, but hospital returns show that during the first seven weeks of the occupation 1,202 officers and 30,152 men were quartered on Tunisian soil, and that in this force the casualties had been during that period:—

	Officers.	Men.
Killed by the Enemy . .	1	17
Wounded in Action . .	3	217
Died in Hospital . .	14	283
Passed through Hospital .	114	3,495

In the course of the year 1882 fresh operations were undertaken in order to bring the Arabs to reason, and after a series of raids, carried on without much regard to the health and comfort of the men, M. Roustan was enabled to declare the condition of the country satisfactory. Still it was judged advisable to maintain a strong force in the Protectorate to enforce law and order; and even now, as I write, though the French Power is five years old, over 15,000 French troops are required to ensure the pacification of a country with less than 2,000,000 inhabitants.

France has achieved her aim; she is now supreme in Tunis, and it now remains to be seen whether she will realize those aspirations which have been the dreams of Frenchmen for centuries, and which have been emphasized by the speeches and writings of many well-known authorities.

"Tunis," wrote the American Consul-General, "has the finest position in North Africa. Commercial preponderance and the control of the Mediterranean are the attractions for the Powers which dispute with each other for its possession or neutralization."

Captain Villot writes: "If the Tunis lake were only dredged and deepened and the coast fortified, and if a powerful navy were stationed in the Tunisian roadstead, not only the path to Egypt, but the road to India through the Suez Canal, would once more be closed to the people of the West."

In Tunis France has a great future, and when the hollow farce of the Beylical Government is ended, and the Minister Resident transformed into a Governor-General, which post he now virtually holds, we may expect to see the work of developing the country rapidly proceeded with. Of its mineral and agricultural wealth there can be no two opinions. The coast line is indented with many spacious harbours; all that is needed are roads to bring the riches of the interior to the seaport towns.

In its configuration Tunis is similar to Algeria, but its soil is immeasurably more fertile and productive, whilst the minerals in its mountains are more readily obtainable. From its mountains flow innumerable streams, which need but a slight knowledge of the science of irrigation to be made the means of fertilizing many thousand square miles of country now lying barren and untilled. The grinding tyranny of the Moslem rule, and the crushing taxation imposed by the Beys, have been the cause of the misery and poverty of the people; these removed, there is everything to be hoped for in the future.

France has a far more easy task in Tunis than she had in Algeria, and so long as she avoids in Tunis that artificial system of colonization which has given rise to so much animosity on the part of the Arabs in Algeria, there is no reason why the Regency should not become a rich source of revenue to the Republic. European agriculturalists can never hope to work profitably on the southern shores of the Mediterranean; the climate is too enervating, the soil too sterile, the resources of the country too few, the life too solitary, for

Europeans to attempt to earn their living there by hard manual labour. A European would starve on the produce of land which would provide plenty for an Arab family.

Capital is what is needed for the development of Tunis—capital spent in bringing to light its hidden treasures—capital to open up roads, to work mines, to irrigate vast tracts of barren land, to improve roadsteads, to dredge harbours, to construct railways, to encourage commerce, to civilize an uncivilized land, and to show in one more corner of the world the immense advantages of Christian rule.

France has little intention of staying her hand in Tunis. She has gauged the amount of resistance Europe is prepared to offer towards an extension of her power in Northern Africa. England remained satisfied with polite assurances that annexation was far from the thoughts of the French Ministry, and even when the annexation was an accomplished fact raised not the faintest protest; Italy, checkmated in her own designs, cherished vengeful feelings, but took no action; and Turkey, Oriental like, bowed to the inevitable, and calmly accepted the loss of her westernmost Province.

There are other countries in Northern Africa on which France has cast the eye of lust, and there is small reason to fear that the remonstrances of Spain and of Italy will be more forcible than those addressed to Paris on the occasion of the seizure of Tunis. Tripoli to the east, Morocco to the west, form portions of what might be a vast French Africa, and signs are plentiful that France means to enlarge her boundaries so as to include both these States. We were hoodwinked, cajoled, outwitted in the case of Tunis; for years the writing had been plain upon the walls, the interpretation thereof had been pressed home in many a Consular despatch, but successive English Ministries had failed to realize the gravity of the danger which threatened our power in the Mediterranean, and even when the blow fell English Ministers were loath to believe that French statesmen had forsworn themselves.

The question is now at an end, and Tunis, despite the puppet Bey who so graciously distributes crosses and stars in the Bardo, is an integral portion of the French Republic. As

yet too little time has passed for us to ascertain what progress it has made under the new régime. Of this we may be sure, that the dark pages of Tunisian history, teeming with the records of piracy, rebellion, and crime, are closed for ever, that the humiliating tales of European intrigue in the Bardo will never be heard again, and that a new era of comparative freedom has dawned for a hitherto oppressed people.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIAL DEFENCES.

Defence of English Colonies—Dual System in both Countries—Forces employed in recent French Colonial Wars—Campénon's Scheme for a Colonial Army—Boulanger's Scheme—Present System of Garrisoning Colonies—Naval Forces in French Colonies—Admiral Aube's Groups of Combat—Destruction of English Commerce—Means of counteracting these Schemes.

BEFORE closing this work it will be necessary to devote a short space to the question of the defence of the French colonies. With us the broad principle is that those colonies in the population of which the European element predominates, and which are exposed to no danger from native risings, the mother country should, except in the event of a European war, leave the colony to take care of itself. The infant has learnt to walk unaided. The services of the British soldier as a protector are no longer required; and the colony, acquiring self-reliance, and strong in her own self-esteem, takes an especial pride in organizing her own means of defence. There still remain many English colonies which, for a variety of reasons, are excluded from this category: the ever-recurring Dutch and Kaffir questions in South Africa; the paucity of the English labouring-classes in the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, the Gold Coast, the West Indies, the Mauritius, and St. Helena, have led successive Governments to maintain garrisons of regular troops in these places; whilst, for other reasons, a small force—too small, indeed, to be considered in the light of a defensive force—has been retained in Canada. Some of the places I have here enumerated are garrisoned because they are links in the

great chain which binds the British colonies to Great Britain, or are the coaling stations of the fleet which protects England's commerce, and which, in time of war, would be required to uphold her title of Empress of the Seas. Our colonies, then, for defensive purposes, may be classed in two categories: those which are self-supporting, and those garrisoned by regular troops, which, for discipline, organization, and administration are subordinated to the War Office. The whole of the forces employed in colonial defences own as their legitimate head the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief.

In France, also, a dual system exists; the smaller colonies being garrisoned by detachments from those magnificent bodies, the Infantry and Artillery of the Marine, subordinate to the Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies. The large colonies, on the other hand, are dependent upon the Minister of War, their garrisons being regiments and batteries of the Regular Army, or Native Corps raised on the spot, and officered partly by natives themselves, partly by officers who are willing to expatriate themselves for the additional pay offered for colonial service. We then have the Spahis and other Arab troops of the 19th Army Corps in Algeria, the Tirailleurs of Senegal, of Annam and Tonkin, and the Cipahi companies of the East Indian settlements. Besides these we have the Disciplinary Companies, composed of the scum of the whole French Army. So we have the Minister of War responsible for the efficiency of a large portion of the troops garrisoning the French colonies, and his colleague of the Admiralty responsible for the remainder.

Such an arrangement has many drawbacks. It was evident from the first, that the short-service system of Germany would break down utterly when applied to a colonial army. We have found out how unsuited our own modifications of the German system are with regard to India and the colonies; what enormous expense the constant reliefs entail; and that the youth of twenty years is but a weak reed to rely on in an enervating climate and with a savage foe. The French have discovered this likewise. In the Tunisian campaign—a campaign waged on the shores of the Mediterranean, within forty-eight hours'

steam of Toulon—the three-year-old soldiers died like flies; and, in order to hold a country with something under three million inhabitants, an Army Corps of upwards of thirty thousand men became necessary. The operations in Madagascar and in Tonkin have still further shown the French the joints in their armour; and it was found not merely that the mortality amongst the young soldiers was appalling—that was to be expected—but that the organization of the home army could not stand the terrible drain this spirited colonial policy demanded. In Tunis over 30,000 men were quartered; in Tonkin the army furnished 33,000, and the navy 8,000 more; and in Madagascar some 10,000 were employed. Eighty thousand men over and above the regular garrisons of the colonies! Small wonder that successive Ministers of War have brought forward projects for the formation of a colonial army which should be composed of old, seasoned soldiers, tempted by high pay and the promise of good pensions, to make the army their profession, and the colonies their home.

Ministers of War succeed each other with such giddy rapidity in France, and each Minister seems to think it criminal to indulge in a continuity of policy, that, as yet, no scheme for a colonial army has received the sanction of the Chamber.

General Campénon, the War Minister in 1885, proposed to form a Colonial Army consisting of—

8 Regular Regiments, each of 4 Battalions, with 2 Depôt Companies,
1 Regiment of 4 Battalions of Annamite Tirailleurs,
„ 4 „ Tonkinois „
„ 2 „ Senegal „
2 Companies of Indian Sepoys,
2 Regiments of Artillery, each consisting of 3 Horse and 11 Field Batteries,

giving a total of 42 battalions and 156 guns.

This scheme received extensive modifications in the present year (1886), and the project now before the Chambers provides very efficiently, not merely for the proper defences of the colonies, but for the furtherance of that scheme of colonial

expansion which is so strongly supported by an influential party in Paris.

The troops holding the African littoral of the Mediterranean are to be divided into two Army Corps, the 19th and 20th respectively; the force in Senegal is to be strongly increased, so that the opening up of regular communication between the French dominions on the Congo and in Algeria may speedily be looked for. What is this but a step towards the absorption of Morocco, and the conversion of the Mediterranean into a French lake?

The garrisons of the other colonies are strengthened and otherwise placed on a more efficient basis, the main idea being to abolish the dual control, and to place the military forces of each colony under one head. That this will tend to consolidate the colonial possessions of France is undeniable; the only matter for surprise being that it has been delayed so long. These schemes, however, are yet in embryo, and we must look then at the present condition of the forces in the French colonies.*

First, then, we have the 19th Army Corps garrisoning Algeria. Next we have, in Tunis, troops from the regular army dislocating the territorial system, which never was intended to include colonial service within its attributions; we also find provisional regiments from the regular army serving in Tonkin and Madagascar, their presence being made necessary by the fact that the troops at the disposal of the Minister of Marine were not equal to the task of furthering the colonial policy inaugurated by the Third Republic. Then we have the Tirailleurs of Senegal, of Annam, and of Tonkin, as well as certain Disciplinary Companies; all these troops being subordinate to the Minister of War.

In addition to these we have the magnificent soldiers belonging to the Infantry and Artillery of the Marine, holding the older colonies, such as Martinique, Guadaloupe, Réunion, Guiana, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; Disciplinary Companies, subordinate to the Minister of Marine, in the various colonies;

* *See* Appendix, Tables 7 and 8.

and Native Troops, officered partly by educated natives of rank and education, partly by officers drafted from the various Marine Corps.

Irrespective of their military garrisons, the colonies of France are further strengthened, in many cases, by naval flotillas. I do not allude to the fleets organized with a view of showing the French flag in distant waters, and if need arises, of acting on the offensive. Like England, France has her fleets in the Mediterranean, in the East Indies, in China, the Pacific, and elsewhere. I allude exclusively to the flotillas placed at the disposal of Colonial Governors for Colonial purposes.

Off St. Pierre, and Miquelon, vessels are needed for the superintendence and protection of the fishing interests. The Resident at Tunis requires coasting craft, to warn the corsair-bred seamen of Barbary that their power for evil has for ever departed. The rivers of Senegal, of Gaboon, of Tonkin, and Cochin-China, need constant patrolling. Réunion, Obock, and Tahiti, want means of communication with neighbouring states. Guiana and New Caledonia, require constant blockading, in order to keep in check the convicts who daily seek means of escape. The naval services thus rendered entail the employment of forty-nine craft of various sizes, and over four thousand men.*

With the fever for colonial expansion has come the recollections of what the colonies did for France in the great wars waged between her and England; how they were made the bases of operations in many a successful expedition against English colonies, and how their harbours gave shelter to fleets that gallantly fought our own, and to corsairs that swept our commerce from the seas.

Dreams of the revival of a Colonial France very naturally bring with them dreams of the destruction of English trade. Colbert's great maxim, "Commerce begets wealth, and wealth furnishes the sinews of war," is not yet forgotten, and there still live in France men who look to the day when the renewal of a European war will enable the hardy sailors of Dunkerque and St. Malo to emulate the deeds of their corsair fathers.

* *See* Appendix, Table 9.

The present Minister of Marine, himself an ex-Colonial Governor, is one of the most practical of these dreamers, and he has elaborated a scheme of colonial naval defence which, if successfully put into execution, would place each colony beyond the reach of attack, and make it at the same time a centre of disturbance against British trade.

Admiral Aube's views have been soberly advanced in journals of weight and influence, and he had the powerful support of one of the ablest pens in France—alas! I should have to write *had:* for the talented advocate of the *Groupe de Combat* system of warfare, Monsieur Gabriel Charmes, has passed away to the majority whilst yet in the flush of youth, and in the very height of his fame. Admiral Aube will have much difficulty in finding a journalist possessed with such a facile pen and such wide experience, as the one who thrust into European notoriety the French Minister's scheme of naval warfare.

Admiral Aube's views are, that each colony should be made the headquarters of one or more Groups of Combat, destined not merely for the defences of that colony, but to harass the trade of any nation with which France might be at war. A glance at the map will show how fatally destructive such a scheme would be to English commerce.

These groups are to consist of one swift steaming cruiser of about 2,500 tons, capable of steaming twenty knots an hour, and of keeping the sea at a rate of ten knots for a distance of 3,000 miles; the craft is to be armed with two five-inch breech-loading guns, a couple of torpedo-tubes, and a considerable number of Hotchkiss cannon. She is to be the flag-ship of the little squadron, and is to carry reserve crews, and reserve supplies of food, coal, ammunition, and provisions for her satellites; these comprise two swift-steaming gun-vessels and eight sea-keeping torpedo-boats.

The gun-vessels are to be craft of about 400 tons burthen, and armed with one five-inch breechloader, a proportionate number of machine guns, and a crew of fifty men. They, too, are to possess a high rate of speed, and to be capable of keeping the sea for a considerable time.

The torpedo-boats are invariably to be worked in pairs, the

one carrying two Whitehead torpedoes, and no other weapon of offence or defence; the other, a spar torpedo, and a couple of powerful Hotchkiss. The duty of the former craft is to threaten and destroy an enemy's vessel; the duty of the latter to protect her consort from the attack of small craft, and if necessary, to use her own spar torpedo in self-defence.

Working in groups, these eleven swift-steaming vessels ought to outshine the deeds of the schooners and luggers which Surcouf and Fourmentin led against us in the last great war; but, unfortunately for Admiral Aube's scheme, sea-going torpedo-boats have not as yet proved themselves capable of keeping the sea. Our own experiences off the West coast of Ireland in the summer of 1885, and the experiences of the French craft now operating in the Gulf of Toulon, prove these vessels to be valuable only in smooth weather. The idea of *Groupes de Combat* is a good one, and is capable of modification. If for his eight torpedo-boats the French Minister substituted one more large cruiser and two more gun-vessels, and maintained such squadrons at each colony, there is no doubt that we should be compelled to make similar efforts, or be obliged tamely to submit to the destruction of our commerce. French colonies lie in the fair way of every single trade route we possess. Their squadrons could swoop down on the flank of our great commercial highways, and ruin our maritime supremacy. Algeria and Tunis are destined to become the headquarters of a *Groupe de Combat* which should sweep the British flag from the Mediterranean; Obock would hermetically seal the Red Sea; Saigon and Haiphong would paralyze our China trade; Réunion and Madagascar would give shelter to groups destined to dominate the Indian Ocean; Tahiti and New Caledonia would be a source of grave danger to Australia; from the harbour of Gaboon vessels would swoop down on ships engaged in our African trade; whilst Martinique and Guadaloupe would enable France to put a finishing touch to the disasters which overhang our West Indian possessions. Such schemes sound well in a lecture hall, and can be painted vividly enough to strike the imagination in a magazine article. But Englishmen must remember that, though Surcouf and his fellow-corsairs worked damage

enough to English trade, and inflicted ruin upon thousands of English merchants, our commerce was by no means destroyed, and the evils we suffered were due to our own faults of omission.

For every letter of marque France issued we might well have issued two, and if the sea-wolves of Brittany are bold and daring, surely our own seafaring population can produce men as brave and spirits as enterprising. Admiral Aube's scheme of Colonial Naval Defence will be successful so long as it is allowed to proceed unchallenged; but it is a scheme that may be checkmated.

Counter groups can without difficulty be evolved out of the swift-steaming merchant vessels of Great Britain's monster fleet. The French ships are not yet built; ours are even now cruising in distant oceans, or lying in Colonial harbours. If Bizerta and Algiers can give shelter to a squadron which is to sweep the English flag from the Mediterranean, we have harbours equally commodious in Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus; if Obock can hermetically seal the Red Sea, there is no reason why Aden should not hermetically seal Obock. Singapore and Hong-Kong may be used as a counterpoise to Saigon and Haiphong, and Mauritius made the base of operations against Réunion and Madagascar. Our Australian harbours can give shelter to vessels that would sweep the New Caledonian squadron off the seas and transport the récidivists of France back to the Boulevards which spurn them. Fiji and the Falkland Islands would not submit tamely to the insults of a mosquito fleet located in Tahiti, and Martinique and Guadaloupe might do worse than us to place them a third time under English protection.

France will be wise in adopting the motto—"Defence, not Defiance," for her colonial policy. So long as the schemes for Colonial Defences embrace only measures of defence, and are not aimed at the supremacy of other nations, France will be allowed to pursue her dream undisturbed. Our policy towards her has never been one of aggression, nor have we ever made a descent upon any one of her colonies except in pure self-defence. Not until these colonies became nests of corsairs did

we even threaten their capture, and not until they had been made the bases of descents on our own colonies did we carry these threats into execution.

The formation of a Colonial Army is a just and politic measure, one which will give relief to the nation at large and be a distinct benefit to each individual colony; but the formation of a fleet based on Admiral Aube's scheme of Groups of Combat, is a distinct threat to English and German commerce, and would of necessity be met by counter measures, which, though at first partaking somewhat of the character of a game of brag, would eventually lead to recriminations, reprisals, and the inevitable dismemberment of Colonial France.

APPENDIX.

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No. I.

Ratification of the Powers granted to the "Compagnie pour le Commerce d'Orient et de Madagascar et d'establer des Colonies françaises aux isles de l'Orient," which was constituted by Royal Charter in 1642.

"Louis à tous ceux, etc. Salut.

"Le feu Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, comme Grand Maître, Chef et Surintendant de la Navigation et Commerce de France, ayant de son vivant, en vertu du pouvoir à lui donné par notre très honoré Seigneur et Père, le Roy desfunt, qui Dieu absolve, accordé, donné, et octroyé au Sieur Rigault l'un de nos Cappitaines entretenus en la marine pour nostre service et ses associez, leurs heretiers et aiaus cause, plein pouvoir et permission d'envoyer aux Isles de Madagascar, costes de Mozambic et aux Isles et terres adjacentes de l'Orient des vaisseaux armez en guerre et marchandise affin d'y établir un negoce et Colonie de François pour le bien et utillité de ce royaume suivant et ainsi qu'il est porté par la Concession qui lui en avoit esté faicte à cette fin en datte du 28 Janvier, 1642. Et desirant de nostre part apporter tout ce qui peut estre requis pour l'entretien de la navigation, des voyages de long cours aux autheurs et entrepreneurs auxquels nous voulons à l'avenir donnés toutes les protections et assistemens à nous possibles pour leur établessement et manutention de leurs negoces affin que par cette facilité et sous nostre appuy ils se porte plus librement à former des Compagnies pour la descouverture des navigations longtaines et en rapporter eux-mesme en notre royaume, des avantages que nos sujets son obligés de mandier à grands couts aux autres nations de Europe. Nous avons conformément à l'arrest de notre conseil du 15 Février, 1642, y attaché avec la coppié collationnée de la dicte concession, confirmé, loué, ratisfié et approuvé, confirmons, louons, ratisfions et approuvons le contenu du dict pouvoir et concession.

"Voullons ordonnons et nous plaist qu'elle soit en son plain et entier effet. Et que du contenu en icelle le dict Rigault et ses associez,

heritiers, successeurs, et aiaus cause jouissent plainement et paisiblement sans qu'il y soit contrevenu en quelque sorte et manière que ce soit sur les peines portées par icelle.

"Sy donnons en mandement à nostre très cher cousin le Duc de Fronsac, Marquis de Brezé, Grand Maître, Chef, et Surintendant-general de la Navigation et Commerce de France, nos Officiers de la Marine, et aux Juges et Officiers à qu'il appartiendra que la contenu en la dicte Concession, ils fassent entretenir, garder et observer et d'icelle jouir et user le dict Rigault ses associez, leurs heritiers et aiaus cause faisant cesser tout trouble et empeschement quelconque et commandons à tous huissiers et sergents de faire pour l'exécution d'icelle en vertu des presentes non obstant clameur de pars chartre normande prise à partie ou autres choses à ce contraire pour lesquelles ne sera differé.

"En temoins nous donnons, etc., à Paris,
le 20me Septembre, 1643."

No. II.

Extract from the Letters-Patent of Louis XIV., dated 1st September, 1684, for the Foundation of the Company of the East Indies.

ART. 29.—"Nous avons donné, concedé et octroyé, donnons, concedons, octroyons à ladite Compagnie, l'île de Madagascar ou Saint Laurent avec les îles circonvoisines, forts, habitations qui peuvent y avoir été construits par nos sujets; et tant que besoin est nous avons subroyé ladite Compagnie à celle ci-devant établie pour ladite île de Madagascar en conséquence du contrat de delaissement fait par les interessés de ladite Compagnie, avec les Syndics de la nouvelle passé par le notaire au Châtelet de Paris le jour du présent mois, que nous avons approuvé et ratifié approuvons et ratifions par ces présentes pour en jouir par ladite Compagnie à perpetuité et en toute propriété Seigneurie et justice ensemble des droits contenus au précédent article (referring to the rights conferred on the Company, so far as Hindostan was concerned), ne nous réservant aucun droit ni devoir pour tous lesdits pays compris en la présente concession que la seule foi et hommage lige que ladite Compagnie sera tenue de nous rendre, et à nos successeurs rois avec le redevance à chacun mutation de roi d'une couronne et un sceptre d'or da poids de 100 marcs.

"ART. 30.—Sera tenue, ladite Compagnie établier des ecclésiastiques esdites Isles de Madagascar, et autres lieux qu'elle aura conquis.

"LOUIS XIV."

No. III.

Arrêt du Conseil d'État concernant Madagascar.

"Le Roi s'estant fait representer en son conseil Sa Majesté y estant son édit d'Aoûst, 1664 pour l'etablissement de la Compagnie royalle des Indes Orientalles par lequel Sa Majesté auroit en l'Article 29 entr'autres choses donné et concédé à la dicte Compagnie, l'isle de Madagascar ou de St. Lauran avec les isles circonvoisns forts et habitations qui pouvoient y avoir esté construits par ses sujets, pour en jouir par la dicte Compagnie en toute propriété et seigneurie, sans autre réserve que de la foy et hommage lige à Sa Majesté et à ses successeurs Roys sous la redevance d'une couronne et d'un sceptre d'or du poids de cents marcs au cas marqué par le dict Article 29. La déclaration de Sa Majesté du mois de Fevriér, 1685, pour l'etablissement d'une nouvelle Compagnie pour faire le Commerce des Indes portant aussy entr'autres choses qu'en cas que la dicte nouvelle Compagnie trouvast à propos de renoncer à la propriété et seigneurie de la dicte Isle de Madagascar ou de St. Lauran elle demeurera déchargée de la foy et hommage lige ensemble de la redevance portée par le dict Article 29, de l'edit de 1664. La délibération prise en l'assemblée des Directeurs Généraux de la dicte Compagnie à Paris le 16me November 1685: par laquelle il auroit esté arresté que Sa Majesté sera suppliée de les décharges de la garde de la dicte isle de Saint Lauran ou de Madagascar à la propriété et seigneurie de laquelle ils renoncent ensemble de la foy et hommage et redevance portée par le dict Article 29 tout considéré.

"Sa Majesté extant en son Conseil en conséquence de la renonciation faite par la Compagnie des Indes Orientalles, à la propriété et seigneurie de l'Isle de Madagascar qui Sa Majesté a agrée et approuvée, a réuny et réunit à son domaine la dicte Isle de Madagascar, forts, habitations en dépendant et mouvant compris dans la Concession portait par l'édit d'establissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientalles du mois d'Aoûst, 1664, pour par Sa Majesté en disposer en toute propriété seigneurie et justice tout de même et ainsy qu'elle aurait pu faire auparavant son dict édit et en conséquence demeurera la dicte Compagnie des Indes Orientalles deschargée comme des à présent. Sa Majesté la décharge de la foy et hommage lige et de la redevance d'une couronne et d'un sceptre d'or du pois et au ces mentionné par le dict Article 29, et pour l'exécution du présent arrest toutes lettres nécessaires seront expediées.

"(Signé) Boucherat."

No. IV.

Déclaration de Tsimandroho au Grand Roi de France, d'Alger, de Bourbon et de beaucoup d'autres lieux.

"Moi, Tsimandroho de la famille de l'or, ci-devant roi de Vohémar à la Grande Terre de Madagascar, à présent maître d'une partie de Nossi Bé de Nossi Faly, ayant été vaincu à la Grande Terre par les Hovas nos cruels ennemis, je ne suis pas en état de me defendre contre leurs attaques. Si un autre roi ne vient à nos secours nous sommes tous perdus.

"J'ai réuni tous mes Conseillers et les principaux chefs pour délibérer sur ce que nous avions à faire. Nous reconnaissons que le roi de France est capable de vaincre des Hovas, et qu'il ne nous trompera pas. S'il vient à notre secours nous vivrons tous ainsi que nos familles.

"C'est pourquoi je me mets entre les mains du grand roi de France. Je lui donne tous mes terres, mes villages et mes sujets. Je le prie de nous aider contre les Hovas. Tous mes gens désirent d'apprendre à combattre comme les Français, et d'aller au combat avec eux. Je désire beaucoup me faire le parent du roi de France. Qu'il soit mon père et moi son fils. Je suivrai les ordres du roi de France et des ses Envoyés dans ce pays; s'il me dit de rester debout, je resterai debout; s'il me dit de m'asseoir, je m'asseirai; s'il me dit de travailler, de combattre, je ferai, ce qu'il me dira.

"Nous ne savons rien, nous désirons tous que le roi de France nous envoie des personnes pour nous enseigner à lire, à écrire et beaucoup d'autres choses.

No. V.

"SIRE,—Je conjure Votre Majesté de recevoir les paroles de M. Lambert et les prières qu'il vous fera en mon nom, comme si elle les entendait sortir de ma bouche, car c'est moi qui les lui ai transmises avec des détails qu'il n'était pas opportun de confier au papier. Veuillez donc considérer M. Lambert comme un autre moi-même."

On behalf of the chiefs discontented with the rule of Queen Ranavolana, a second letter was written.

"Non, il n'est pas possible que l'Empereur des Françaises repousse les prières qui lui sont faites en faveur de Madagascar, lorsqu'il apprendra tous les maux qui désolent ce malheureux pays; la multitude de personnes assassinées chaque jour, les femmes et les enfants vendus comme esclaves le taughen administré sur de simple soupçons, des corvées et des services continuels qui enlèvent tous les hommes à leurs travaux sans la moindre compensation. Il semble qu'on n'ait en vue que de dépouiller le peuple Malgache et de faire mourir de faim ce qui aura été épargné par la sagaie et le taughen. Que Votre Majesté ne soit pas étonnée de voir si peu de signatures à cette lettre! Elle se couvrirait de noms si nous la présentions aux nombreux partisans de Rakoto d'Radama et de la civilisation; mais la prudence nous fait une loi de tenir caché ce qui pourrait côuter de vie à des milliers de personnes."

No. VI.

Extract of Letter from Father Jouen.

"Le recrutement des travailleurs venait de s'organiser dans la baie du Baly, il jeta subitement sur toutes ces plages une foule de navires attirés par l'appat d'un gain fabuleux. L'engagé qui s'obtenait sur les lieux pour vingt ou trente piastres ne se cédait guère à la Réunion à moins de deux cents ou deux cents quarante piastres (1,000 to 1,200 francs). Qu'on juge jusqu'à quel point dut se trouver sur excitée la cupidité des commerçants. Celle des Malgaches ne le fut pas moins à la vue des liqueurs fortes, des barils d'arrack et des cadeaux de toute espece qui leur étaient prodigués. Dès lors, ce ne fut partout de leur part que guerres et incursions pour voler des hommes et les revendre aux blancs. Libre ou esclave ou enlevait impitoyablement tout ce qui tombait sous la main. Combien de fois nous-mêmes n'avons nous pas rencontré de ces malheureux attachés à un long poteau, les fers au cou et aux pieds, couchés sur le sable en attendant l'heure de l'embarquement. C'etaient des *engagés volontaires* pour l'île de Réunion. Que resultâit-il de ces funestes operations? C'est que unefois à bord ces infortunés, pettés, volés, arrachés brutalement à leur pays et à leur famille, n'aspiraient qu'a se soustraire à une si affreuse servitude. Les chefs qui les avaient vendus étaient les premiers, sous main, à leur en suggérer l'idée et à leur en fournir les moyens dans l'espoir infernal de les reprendre bientôt pour les revendre une seconde fois: ajoutez l'incurie des capitaines et des équipages qui plus d'une fois ont raissé leurs navires presque seuls et sans défense à la merci de ces forcenés, la tentation était trop forte pour n'y pas succomber."

No. VII.

MOHÉLY, 20*me* *Avril*, 1861.

"MONSIEUR LE COMMANDANT SUPÉRIEUR,—

"Je suis à la dernière extremité et si l'on ne vient promptement à mon secours je suis perdu sans ressource.

"M. le Commandant je mets ma personne, celle de nu enfants et mon île sons la protection de la France.

"Pour premier acte de ce protectorat envoyez moi de suite un navire avec des forces enfin de me delivrer d'une manière ou d'une autre de mes oppresseurs qui pressureat aussi mon peuple.

"TOMBI FATOUMA."

No. VIII.

Text of the Charter granted to Monsieur Laborde.

"Nous Radama II. Roi de Madagascar,—

"Vu notre charte en date du 15 Alahamady, 1856 (28e Juin, 1855), par laquelle nous avons donné pouvoir exclusif à notre ami J. Lambert de constituer et de diriger une Compagnie ayant pour but l'exploitation des mines de Madagascar et la culture des terrains situés sur les côtes et dans l'intérieur.

"Attendu qu'il est important d'arrêter les termes de la Charte définitive que nous accordons à J. Lambert pour les services qu'il nous a rendus et le mettre à même de former cette Compagnie que nous appelons de tous nos vœux pour nous aider dans nos projets de civilisation de notre pays.

CHAPITRE Ier.

"*Nous* autorisons J. Lambert à former une Compagnie ayant pour but l'exploitation des mines de Madagascar, des forêts et des terrains situés sur les côtes et dans l'intérieur.

"Ladite Compagnie aura le droit de créer des routes, canaux, chantiers de construction, établissements d'utilité publique, faire frapper des monnaies à l'effigie du Roi, en un mot elle pourra faire tout ce qu'elle jugera convenable au bien des pays.

CHAPITRE IIme.

"Art. I.—*Nous* accordons et concédons à la Compagnie le privilége exclusif de l'exploitation de toutes les mines de Madagascar, soit de celles qui sont déja connues, soit de celles qui pourraient plus tard être découvertes.

"Art. 2.—*Nous* accordons et concédons également à ladite Compagnie soi pour elle-même, soit pour ceux qu'elle admettra en participation de cette faculté le privilége de choisir sur les côtes et dans l'intérieur du pays des terrains inoccupés pour être mis en culture. En conséquence la Compagnie deviendra propriétaire qu'elle aura choisis dès qu'elle aura fait connaître sa prise de possession.

"Art. 3.—La Compagnie ne payera aucuns droits sur les minéraux exploités ni sur les produits qu'elle pourra faire.

"Art. 4.—Les produits de l'exploitation des mines de Madagascar et

de des cultures jouiront du privilége de libre exportation, sans droits de sortie. Ses propriétés ne seront pas susceptibles d'être grevées d'impôts. Ce qui entrera pour le service de la Compagnie ne payera aucun droit.

"Art. 5.—*Nous* engageons à favoriser cette Compagnie de tout notre pouvoir et spécialement à l'aider à se procurer des travailleurs.

"Nous abandonnons à la Compagnie toutes les usines de *Soatsimanamprovana* afin de la mettre à même d'employes immédiatement des ouvriers.

"Nous donnons également le Château de *Soanirana* pour y établir le siége de son administration.

"De son côté la Compagnie s'engage envers nous par une réciprocité loyale à nous aider selon son pouvoir dans nos projets d'amélioration et de civilisation de notre pays, se rappelant qu'elle est fondée dans le but de procurer le bien et la prosperité de notre Gouvernement.

"Voulons que la présente Charte faite de bonne foi en présence de Dieu pour aider à la civilisation de notre pays soit une garantie pour notre ami J. Lambert en même temps qu'elle sera pour lui un témoignage de notre reconnaissance afin de l'aider à former cette Compagnie que nous désirons voir se constituer le plustôt possible afin qu'elle soit une gage de notre parole royale qu'il ne nous est plus permis de retirer.

"M. Lambert s'engage à donner à S. M. Radama II. et à ses successeurs le dix pour cent sur les bénéfices net que la Compagnie fera.

"ANTANANARIVO,
"8 *Alakarabo*, 1862 (8e *November*, 1861).

(Signé) "RADAMA II.,
"Roi du Madagascar;
"RAHANIRAKA,
"Minister for Foreign Affairs
"RAINILAIRIVONY,
"Commander of the Forces;
"RAINIKETAKA,
"Minister of Justice.

"Je certifie la présente traduction conforme à la Charte Malgache donnée par S. M. Radama II. à M. Lambert, le neuf Novembre, mil huit cent soixante et un.

"Le Consul de France.
"(Signé) LABORDE.

"ANTANANARIVO,
"13 *Sep.* 1862.

"(Signé) J. DUPRÉ,
"Le Chef de la Mission Française à Madagascar."

TABLE SHOWING PRESENT POSITION OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.	Tonnage of Vessels Entered and Cleared.	Imports.	Exports.
	Sq. Miles.		£	£	£	Tons.	£	£
India, British	868,314	198,790,853	71,727,421	70,339,925	161,300,221	7,250,603	68,156,654	89,098,427
,, Native States	509,730	55,191,742	...	...	...	...	...	..
Straits Settlements	1,472	423,384	629,921	580,146	55,900	6,343,718	18,676,766	17,260,138
Ceylon	25,365	2,763,984	1,162,722	1,154,833	2,193,274	3,510,566	4,811,451	3,161,262
Mauritius	713	377,373	860,958	907,281	749,100	759,412	2,963,152	3,941,757
Labuan	30	6,298	4,780	4,392	...	47,918	84,869	85,741
Hong-Kong	30	160,402	244,390	332,375	...	6,961,758	no returns.	no returns.
Australia	3,161 842	2,742,550	22,297,790	24,747,594	120,850,558	15,381,853	64,001,120	54,572,756
Fiji	7,740	127,095	91,523	98,468	254,025	127,977	434,522	345,344
Falkland Isles	6,500	1,553	9,687	7,807	...	31,421	67,848	101,338
Natal and Cape of Good Hope	238,450	1,123,671	8,144,528	6,160,640	24,019,572	1,988,434	6,936,547	5,182,373
St. Helena	47	5,059	[a]9,971	10,807	6,750	128,571	63,786	23,406
West Coast of Africa	20,390	149,966	285,054	272,362	58,000	1,417,234	1,733,106	1,716,180
North America	3,510,592	3,832,632	7,080,115	10,264,201	38,306,060	9,211,025	25,599,657	20,150,309
Bermuda and Honduras	6,419	41,400	80,635	83,412	5,784	483,216	520,978	406,071
West India Islands	12,954	1,213,144	1,513,108	1,474,092	1,990,856	5,379,869	6,948,506	6,771,249
British Guiana	109,000	252,186	460,392	449,785	200,313	695,328	1,999,448	2,322,032
Gibraltar	1⅞	18,381	45,504	50,689	...	9,219,909	no returns.	...
Malta	119	149,782	212,569	209,795	408,007	9,036,317	13,343,789	12,908,492
Cyprus	3,595	186,173	164,339	[b]145,208	...	376,418	296,868	266,210

[a] Includes a Treasury Grant of £450.

[b] Includes a Treasury Grant of £95.

TABLE SHOWING PRESENT POSITION OF FRENCH POSSESSIONS.

	Area.	Population.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.	Tonnage of Vessels Entered and Cleared.	Imports.	Exports.
	Sq. Miles.		£	£		Tons.	£	£
East Indies	194	285,022	75,392	96,542	...	...	292,628	964,355
Cochin-China	...	1,633,824	800 000	1,284,906	...	...	395,367	494,892
New Caledonia	6,240	32,321	76,600	579,430	...	...	358,528	186,548
Réunion	1,017	236,084	176,530	309,882	...	...	884,776	960,440
St. Pierre and Miquelon	90	5,534	12,094	79,649	...	...	401,164	589,725
Ste. Marie de Madagascar	60	7,177	641	2,041	...	...	11,916	8,288
Nossi Bé	90	9,539	9,600	20,993	...	...	71,335	99,318
Tahiti	459	25,247	43,000	108,374	...	...	175,661	147,077
Mayotte	...	8,794	9,640	18,431	...	...	43,675	83,592
Algeria	...	...	...	5,076,434	...	3,791,421	...	...
West Coast of Africa	...	...	185,930	805,031	..	...	896,047	1,122,306
Martinique and Guadaloupe	1,123	...	343,418	515,114	...	...	2,249,634	3,243,175
French Guiana	...	25,035	65,693	211,431	...	...	318,727	22,643

No. 1.—TABLE SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL

	Administration in Paris.	Civil Government.	Military.	Naval.	Law.	Religion.	Medical.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Martinique . . .	...	3,654	38,028	...	11,979	5,191	8,784
Guadaloupe . .	...	3,654	32,185	...	13,223	5,163	9,172
Réunion . . .	...	3,497	26,258	15,660	11,787	5,051	6,614
Guiana . . .	...	2,742	14,111	16,172	5,179	2,454	3,836
Senegal . . .	...	7,351	182,031	53,695	2,306	1,370	29,078
Gaboon . . .	...	...	3,197	41,060	...	...	...
St. Pierre and Miquelon	...	1,510	5,907	54,200	996	499	1,145
Ste. Marie de Madagascar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nossi Bé . . .	...	1,253	1,560	...	425	405	965
Mayotte . . .	...	1,253	1,485	...	425	287	161
Tahiti	...	2,350	14,372	33,189	2,080	788	2,015
New Caledonia. .	...	4,430	28,049	31,181	3,670	973	9,539
East Indies . . .	...	3,866	5,304	...	6,276	729	1,982
Cochin-China . .	...	3,138	42,441	48,332	...	...	19,056
Tonkin . . .	...	...	...	104,774	...	...	...
Obock . . .	...	1,426	4,394	5,172	...	...	1,035
Algeria . . .	...	1,613,360	2,387,253	10,525	60,491	3,510	...
Tunis . . .	...	16,300	807,080	23,217	...	...	...
Madagascar . . .	...	...	348,479	...	...	...	...
General Service .	11,600	784	12,946	...	...	2,618	214

ITEMS OF COLONIAL EXPENDITURE.

Railway.	Post and Telegraph.	Transport of Officials.	Subvention.	Rations.	Convict Establishment.	Public Works.	Aids to Colonization.		Miscellaneous.	
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
...	...	3,512	...	15,174	...	...	...	...	871	87,193
...	...	4,278	1,200	14,544	...	...	...	...	1,084	84,503
45,360	...	3,280	...	15,845	...	...	...	...	...	133,352
...	...	2,320	3,970	11,342	83,612	...	...	...	...	145,738
317,617	...	7,100	3,014	69,520	...	24,612	...	...	...	573,082
...	...	...	1,762	...	...	...	...	...	...	46,019
...	...	476	1,532	1,290	...	...	...	...	...	67,555
...	...	...	1,400	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,400
...	...	980	2,000	1,715	...	...	...	...	2,090	11,393
...	...	970	2,000	45	...	...	...	...	2,168	8,791
...	...	1,720	3,689	5,171	...	...	...	...	...	65,374
...	131,888	3,284	7,527	36,595	225,694	...	20,000	...	...	502,830
...	...	2,279	...	714	...	...	...	...	...	21,150
...	308,462	5,072	...	58,405	...	...	...	...	...	484,906
...	24,400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	[a]2,000,000
...	...	360	...	792	...	...	...	...	4,319	17,498
271,662	159,848	...	...	...	...	177,298	171,715	...	220,772	[b]5,076,434
...	35,200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	881,797
...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	[a]60,000
...	398,344	3,217	15,400	366	16,240	...	...	...	29,746	494,775
								Total .		£10,989,250
					Deduct Receipts from Colonial Sources					1,346,977
								Total .		£9,642,273

[a] The position of these colonies being exceptional, I have merely placed the *estimated* cost of occupation. This will naturally be much exceeded.

[b] Of this sum £1,322,000 is raised by taxation in Algeria.

No. 2.—TABLE SHOWING SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL

	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.
	lbs.	gallons.	gallons.	lbs.	lbs.
Martinique . . .	118,019,000	478,880	1,862,080	176,000	7,788
Guadaloupe . .	124,493,017	1,492,282	471,614	1,556,017	60,685
Réunion . . .	74,055,843	452,760	208,978	1,912,087	...
Guiana . . .	...	25,430	55,000	57,200	...
Senegal . . .	...	...	..	...	...
Gaboon . . .	...	...	...	...	...
St. Pierre and Miquelon	...	...	...	...	...
Ste. Marie de Madagascar	...	...	...	...	...
Nossi Bé . . .	1,957,175	...	4,701,950	1,540	...
Mayotte . . .	7,190,412	...	1,766,996	286	...
Tahiti	...	...	...	...	...
New Caledonia . .	...	...	...	...	...
East Indies . . .	...	...	...	...	...
Cochin-China . .	...	...	...	...	...

PRODUCTS OF THE VARIOUS FRENCH COLONIES.

	Cocoa.	Spices.	Vanilla.	Pepper.	Tobacco.	Anatto.	Rice.	Salt Fish.	Copper and other Metals.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
	517,000	...	...	...	.9,460	...	...	...	...
	229,922	212	13,565	...	6,710	1,316,227	...	...	...
	2,860	37,466	135,463	...	2,914,919	...	...	...	...
	37,400	76	...	990	...	121,000	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37,292,607	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	550,000	...	...
	...	...	2,191	...	3,487	...	701,800	...	..
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,378,533
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	847,000,000	...	...

No. 3.—TABLE SHOWING ACREAGE UNDER CROPS IN THE

	Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cocoa.	Spices.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Martinique .	64,575	650	263	1,635	...
Guadaloupe .	65,738	12,863	1,213	1,110	7
Réunion . .	96,088	14,395	18	162	95
Guiana . .	38	1,035	...	610	...
Nossi Bé . .	...	...	...	...	...
Mayotte . .	4,493	...	...	...	...
Tahiti . . .	...	...	...	...	...
East Indies .	...	...	...	...	...
Cochin-China .	12,972	...	5,327	...	...

No. 4.—(1) TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF VESSELS ENTERED INWARDS IN THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH COLONIES IN 1882.

	French Vessels.			Flying Foreign Flags.		
	Number.	Tonnage.	Crews.	Number.	Tonnage	Crews.
Martinique . . .	395	137,900	7,114	545	The Returns show no trace of Tonnage of Foreign Vessels. They, however, are known to be in excess of French Ships.	
Guadaloupe . .	246	41,973	2,348	283		
Réunion . . .	198	87,724	4,819	31		
Guiana . . .	65	22,035	1,198	32		
Senegal . . .	844	106,300	5,736	102		
St. Pierre and Miquelon	458	64,000	3,617	1,072		
East Indies . . .	142	90,509	3,627	461		

CULTIVATION OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH COLONIES.

	Vanilla.	Pepper.	Tobacco.	Anatto.	Rice.	Vegetables.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
	...	...	43	...	...	38,975
	...	...	10	1,078	...	28,182
	4,625	18	...	1,050	...	56,775
	...	18	1,325	1,050	...	5,175
	...	...	..	...	...	...
	...	...	..	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...
	..	...	...	...	40,390	...
	...	...	11,800	...	1,715,477	...

No. 4.—(2) TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF VESSELS CLEARED OUTWARDS IN THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH COLONIES IN THE YEAR 1882.

	French Vessels.			Flying Foreign Flags.		
	Number.	Tonnage.	Crews.	Number.	Tonnage	Crews.
Martinique . . .	409	130,936	6,712	516	The Returns show no trace of Tonnage of Foreign Vessels. They, however, are known to be in excess of French Ships.	
Guadaloupe . .	265	55,577	2,551	511		
Réunion . . .	202	85,481	4,819	31		
Guiana . . .	53	18,539	1,004	30		
Senegal . . .	854	110,919	5,919	106		
St. Pierre and Miquelon	447	62,538	...	1,060		
East Indies . . .	122	25,915	2,165	697		

No. 5.—TABLE SHOWING THE NATIONALITY OF THE VARIOUS VESSELS THAT CLEARED OUT FROM SAIGON (COCHIN-CHINA) IN 1882.

	Flag.	Sailing Vessels.			Steamers.		
		Number.	Tonnage.	Value of Cargo.	Number.	Tonnage.	Value of Cargo.
1	England . .	11	5,141	...	203	178,534	...
2	Germany. .	9	3,580	...	62	52,194	...
3	France . .	6	3,670	...	31	21,150	...
4	Denmark .	2	478	...	15	13,377	...
5	Holland . .	3	1,397	...	12	11,539	...
6	Russia . .	...	...	...	6	4,763	...
7	Norway . .	1	602	...	1	958	...
8	Spain . .	...	...	...	2	971	...
9	United States .	1	970	...	...	...	...
10	Siam . .	1	300	...	...	...	...
11	Sweden . .	1	281	...	...	...	...

In the above Table are not included Vessels which merely put into Saigon as a port of call. These numbered some 83 Steamers, including many Transports for China and Tonkin.

It will be seen from the above that England virtually monopolizes the trade, the totals giving—

English Ships, 214 . . . Tonnage, 183,675.
Other Flags, 153 . . . ,, 115,230.

No. 6.—TABLE SHOWING THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH COLONIES FOR THE YEAR 1882.

	Imports.				Exports.			
	From France.	From French Colonies.	From Foreign Countries.	Total.	To France.	To French Colonies.	To Foreign Countries.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Martinique	516,596	42,770	575,580	1,134,946	1,194,406	349,657	15,646	1,559,709
Guadaloupe	507,772	60,868	546,048	1,114,688	1,125,362	17,702	529,402	1,672,466
Réunion	335,677	32,337	516,262	884,776	739,618	7,398	213,424	960,440
Guiana	221,958	7,834	89,000	318,792	20,892	220	1,531	22,643
Senegal	310,788	178,108	407,151	896,047	860,699	149,277	112,330	1,122,306
St. Pierre and Miquelon	127,812	4,626	268,726	401,164	358,594	115,267	115,864	589,725
Ste. Marie de Madagascar	...	...	...	11,916	...	...	...	8,238
Nossi Bé	...	...	...	71,335	...	...	...	99,318
Mayotte	25,969	...	17,706	43,675	78,090	...	5,502	83,592
Tahiti	50,366	...	125,295	175,661	44,931	...	103,146	147,077
New Caledonia	...	...	...	358,528	...	...	...	186,548
East Indies	20,481	16,078	256,069	292,628	551,907	40,764	371,684	964,355
Cochin-China	53,650	nil.	341,717	395,367	12,601	50	482,241	494,892
Algeria	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

No. 7.—TABLE SHOWING ITEMS OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN FRENCH COLONIES, AND NUMBER OF TROOPS EMPLOYED ON COLONIAL SERVICE.

	Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.	Total.	Cost.
				£
General Staff of the Colonies .	35	2	37	12,468
Staff of Engineers and Artillery .	129	83	212	29,196
Colonial Gendarmes . .	22	751	773	76,502
Native Artificers for Artillery .	6	160	166	5,462
Conductors for Magazines .	6	202	208	11,726
Spahis	9	178	187	9,108
Disciplinary Troops . .	17	600	617	11,390
Native Troops	56	1,839	1,895	37,424
Obock Militia . . .	...	42	42	930
Commissariat	84	89	173	34,715
Inscription Maritime . .	...	59	59	3,720
Employés in Magazines . .	...	118	118	8,787
Lodging and Firing Allowances, and other Indemnities .	...	...	...	2,302
Garrison of Algeria . . .	1,349	44,321	...	2,387,253
,, ,, Tunis . . .	505	14,541	...	807,080
,, ,, Madagascar . .	73	2,900	...	348,479
	2,291	105,885	...	£3,786,482

No. 8.—TABLE SHOWING NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE INFANTRY AND ARTILLERY OF THE MARINE.

	Infantry of the Marine.			Artillery of the Marine.		
	In France.	In Colonies.	Total.	In France.	In Colonies.	Total.
Generals of Division	1	...	1	1	...	1
Generals of Brigade	4	...	4	2	...	2
Colonels	6	1	7	10	...	10
Lieutenant-Colonels	9	5	14	5	...	5
Battalion or Squadron Commanders	43	15	58	20	...	20
First Captains	94	51	145	67	10	77
Second Captains	93	47	140	23	6	29
Garde Principal, 1st Class	...	...	...	4	...	4
,, ,, 2nd ,,	...	...	...	15	...	15
First Lieutenants	99	49	148	23	13	36
Second ,,	98	47	145	27	13	40
Gardes, 1st Class	...	...	...	18	...	18
,, 2nd ,,	...	..	...	25	...	25
,, 3rd ,,	...	...	...	33	...	33
Sous-Lieutenants	110	83	193	25	...	25
Non-Commissioned Officers and Artificers	2,175	1,526	3,701	1,100	312	1,412
Buglers and Drummers	469	306	775	168	60	248
Privates and Gunners	8,522	6,203	14,725	2,491	1,153	3,644
	11,123	8,333	19,456	4,057	1,567	5,624

The pay and allowances of this force amounts to £552,138, and is budgeted for in the Ministry of Marine.

No. 9.—SQUADRONS MAINTAINED IN VARIOUS COLONIES OTHER THAN THOSE FOR STATE PURPOSES, SUCH AS EAST INDIAN, MEDITERRANEAN, CHINA, AND AMERICAN SQUADRONS.

	Number of Ships.	Officers and Men.	Cost.
			£
Newfoundland, St. Pierre, and Miquelon	3	518	54,200
Tunis	2	216	23,217
Senegal	7	495	53,695
West Coast of Africa and Gaboon	8	415	41,060
Guiana	2	127	16,172
Tahiti	6	263	33,189
New Caledonia	3	252	31,181
Tonkin	11	747	104,774
Cochin-China	2	387	48,332
Réunion	1	107	15,660
Obock	1	82	5,172
Algeria	1	214	10,525
Tunis	2	357	23,217
	49	4,180	£460,394

INDEX.

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Abolition of slavery, 9
Abyssinian Expedition, 259
Active, ship, captured by Dutertre, 49
Addington captured by Dutertre, 50
Aden, 253, 261
Admiral Aplin captured by Surcouf, 48
Admiral Aube, 254
Africa, French colonies in, 23
Agriculture in Senegal, 35; Réunion, 57; Nossi Bé, 65; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 67; Mayotte, 72; East Indies, 90; Tahiti, 102; Further India, 129; Martinique, 156; Guadaloupe, 186; French Guiana, 200; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 214
Aiguillon, Duc d', defeats General Bligh, 167
Ajaccio, 254
Al Agni, 31
Alcmèni, French frigate, visits New Caledonia, 104
Algiers, 274
Ali Bey, 281
Ambavatoby, 236
Amber, Cape, 60
America. Treaty with Tunis, 273
Amiens, Peace of, 47
Amphitrite, privateer commanded by Lemême, 49
Andriantsoly, Sultan of Mayotte, 231
Annam, 254
Annesley Bay, 260
Antananarivo, capital of Madagascar, 229
Antatsiman, 233
Antougil, Bay of, 219
Approuague, Valley of the, 204
Arcot, 82
Arnoux, Monsieur, 233
Artois, Comte d', 268
Asia, 1
Assinie, 40
Aube, Admiral, 254
Auspicious, ship, captured by Surcouf, 47
Australian opposition to Récidivist Bill, 106
Austria. Treaty with Tunis, 273

Baba Hassa, 270
Bac Ninh taken by French, 121
Baillie, Colonel, defeated at Perambúkan, 84
Baird, Sir David, 50
Bakel, 28
Baly, Bay of, 233
„ bombarded, 238
Banks, Colonial, 17
„ Fishing, of Newfoundland, 208
Barbadoes, 138

Barras, Comte de. Expedition against Nevis and Montserrat, 141
Barrington, General, 136
Bartholomew, Island of St. (Guadaloupe), 181
Basque fishermen, 207
Basse Terre, Fortress of, bombardment of, 168
„ capital of Guadaloupe, 178
Beaufort, Duke of, 268
Beauharnais, General, at Guadaloupe, 172
Beaulieu, Leroy, on Guiana, 191
„ „ Madagascar, 252
Beckwith, General. Expedition against Martinique, 145; expedition against Guadaloupe, 175
Beja, 280
Bejapore, 81
Belle Combe, M. de, 84
Benyowski, 225
Berber, 260
Berberah, 260
Beti, King, 66
Bien Hoa ceded to France, 119
Bigot, 7
Binic, Harbour of, 210
Bizerta, 254
Black, Admiral, 270
Blanc, Cape, 32
Bligh, General, Defeat of, 167
Boisseret, Marquis de, occupied Guadaloupe, &c., 164
Bompart, Admiral de, arrival at Martiniqne, 172
Bonaparte, invasion of Egypt by, 273
Bora Bora, 99
Bouet-Willaumez, 38
Bougainville visits Tahiti, 95
Bouillé, Marquis de, 140
Boulais, De, Governor of Réunion, 51
Boulanger, 290
Bounties to French fishermen, 211
Bourbon, *see* Réunion, 42
Bourdonnais, La, visits Madagascar, 225
Bourg, Captain du, 222
Bourquenay, Viscomte de, 258
Braganza, House of, in Brazil, 195
Braithwaite captures Pondicherry, 86
Brazil, 195
Bréart, General, 283
Breton fishermen, 207
Brieuc, St., Harbour of, 210
Brittany, Fishing fleets of, 210
Buccaneers, 135, 162
Budgets of Colonies, 308
Buffs, the gallantry of, at Guadaloupe, 170
Burgundy, Duke of, 268

Caledonia, New, *see* New Caledonia
Calvinists. Settlement in Martinique, 135
Campénon's scheme for Colonial Army, 290
Canada, 8
Canh Dzue, Prince, 114
Cape Antougil,
„ Blanc Lighthouse, 214
„ Breton,
„ of Good Hope,
Captains-General, 9
Caribbean Islands, 162
„ Sea, 162
Carron, 77
Carthage, 267
Cartier, Jacques, visits Newfoundland, 3
Casa des Navires, 136
Cast, St., British defeat at, 167
Cayenne, capital of French Guiana, 193
„ captured by the Allies, 195
Centurion, H.M.S., 45

Cerné, 218
Challemel-Lacour and the Récidivist Bill, 106
Chandernagore, 80, *et seq.*
Chandoc ceded to France, 119
Charles VI. of France, 268
„ V., 269
„ King, of Sicily, in Tunis, 267
Charmes, Gabriel, 293
Charnier, Admiral, conducts operations in Cochin-China, 118
Charpentier, M., 220
Cherbourg, Attack on, defeated, 167
China, 119
Chinese trade with Madagascar, 218
Choa, 70
Choiseul, Duc de. Attempt to improve condition of Guiana, 194
Christophe, St., Island of, 133
Christopher Columbus. Martinique, 133; Guadaloupe, 162
Clarisse, privateer, 47
Clavering at Guadaloupe, 172
Clermont, Comte de, 268
Clive, Lord, 82
Cloves introduced into Guiana, 202
Cochin-China, 114
Cochrane, Sir Thomas. Expedition against Martinique 145; expedition against Guadaloupe, 176
Codrington, General. Descent on Guadaloupe, 166
Colbert founds second East India Company, 42
„ Great Company of the West Indies, 164
Colibri, French frigate, 61
Colonial Army, 288
„ Assembly, 11
„ Banks, 17
„ Civil Service, 12
„ Commissions, 10
„ Constitutions, 10, 11
„ Defences, 288
Colonies in Africa, 2
„ America, 2
„ Asia, 1
„ Pacific, 2
Commerce of Senegal, 35; Réunion, 57; Nossi Bé, 65; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 67; Mayotte, 72; East Indies, 91; Tahiti, 102; New Caledonia, 112; Further India, 129; Martinique, 157; Guadaloupe, 188; French Guiana, 204; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 215
Commission Coloniale, 10
Comores Islands, 239
Compagnie de la Nacelle de St. Pierre fleurdelisée, 4; de Morbihan, 5
Compagnie des Iles de St. Christophe, de la Barbade, et autres à l'entrée du Perou, 133, 162, 163
Concord, H.M.S., captures Lemême, 49
Confiance, privateer, 47; H.M.S., 195
Conseils Coloniales, 10
„ Contentieux, 10
„ Généraux, 11
„ Privés, 10
Consortées, 211
Cooke, Captain, discovers New Caledonia, 94
Coote, Sir Eyre, 83
Copper mines of New Caledonia, 111
Corbigny, de, 243
Cornwallis, Admiral, 86
Corsica, 271
Cosmao retakes Diamond Rock, 145
Cossigny, de, visits Madagascar, 225
Couëdac, du, 137
Courier, French ship, 45
Crédit Foncier Colonial, 21
Croix, St., French settlement in, 4

Crump, Colonel. Seizure of St. Anne and St. Francis, 172
Crusades, 267
Cybèle, French ship, 45

Dabou, 38
Dalhousie, Lord, appointed Governor of Martinique, 143
Dalmond, Monsieur, 230
Darvoy, Monsieur, 236
Dauphin, Fort, Madagascar, 221
David Fort, St., 82
Debrisay, General, Death of, 171
Denis, St., 55
Denmark. Treaty with Tunis, 273
Derby, Earl of, and Récidivist Bill, 106
Desirade, Island of, Guadaloupe, 180
Devicottali captured by Lally, 82
Deys of Tunis, 270
Diamond Rock taken by British, 144
Diana, The, captured by Surcouf, 46
Dieppe, 210
Dillon, Count, landed in Grenada, 140
Diomède, H.M.S., 45
Directory, The, 195
Domingo, St., successfully defended against French, 140
Don Juan of Austria, 269
Dryad, The, 250
Duguay-Trouin, 43
Dumas, M., Governor of Isle of France, 225
Dundas, General, at Guadaloupe, 174
Dunkerque, 207
Dunkerquoise, The, 224
Dupetit-Thouars, Admiral, annexes Hivaoa, 95; overbearing conduct in Tahiti, 96
Dupleix' successes in India, 82
Duplessis, Monsieur. Expedition against Guadaloupe, 163
Dupré, Admiral, 245
Dupuis, M., in Tonkin, 120
Duranton, 30
Durocher, M., Jesuit Missionary, 225
Dutch, The. Arrival in Guadaloupe, 165; settlements in Madagascar, 219
Dutertre, M., his successes as a privateer, 49
Duval, Jules, on Guiana, 192; on Madagascar, 225
Dzaoudzi, 70

East India Companies include Mauritius, Bourbon, and Madagascar, 42; early Companies, 74
East Indies, French settlements in —First French Expedition to, 76; Carron's attempt, 77; Martin assumes power, 78; worsted by Dutch, 79; founds Pondicherry, 79; Mahé founded by Labourdonnais, 81; early wars of French and English in India, 82; Madras captured by French, 82; English capture Pondicherry, 83; population of French colonies, 86; administration, 88; agriculture, 90; industries and commerce, 91; finances, 93
Edrisi. Visit to Madagascar, 218
Education in Senegal, 35; Réunion, 56; Nossi Bé, 65; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 67; Mayotte, 71; East Indies, 89; Tahiti, 101; New Caledonia, 110; Further India, 128; Martinique, 152; Guadaloupe, 185; French Guiana, 198; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 214

Edward I. Arrival off Cape Carthage, 267
Eiao, 98
Eighty-sixth Regiment at capture of Réunion, 52
Ellis, Rev. Mr., 236
Elmina, 3
Emigration to New Caledonia encouraged, 111
Emile, privateer, 46
Emperor Napoleon, 117
Emperor of China, 119
English successes in India, 83; capture Pondicherry, 84
Ernouf, General, at Guadaloupe, 176
Esnambuc, Monsieur, authorized to develop West Indies, 6; took possession of Martinique, 133; fitted out expedition to conquer Guadaloupe, 162
Estrée, d' Admiral, 270
Etriel, Chevalier d'. Heroic defence of Basse Terre and Island of Guadaloupe, 170
Exmouth, Lord, 275
Expenditure in Colonies, how regulated, 13; tables of, *see* Appendices.

Faidherbe, Colonel, his achievements in Senegal, 30
Falema River, 28
Fans, The, 39
Fantin, 3
Farquhar, Sir Robert, Governor of Mauritius, 227
Faulkner, Captain, 142
Febvrier-Despointes, takes possession of New Caledonia, 104
Fécamp, 210
Ferry and Récidivist Bill, 105; policy in Madagascar, 251
Fever, General, 230
Fifth Fusileers. Gallantry at St. Domingo, 140
Finances of Senegal, 36; Réunion, 59; Nossi Bé, 65; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 68; Mayotte, 72; East Indies, 92; Tahiti, 103; New Caledonia, 113; Further India, 131; Martinique, 189; Guadaloupe, 189; French Guiana, 206; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 216
Financial officers, 16
Finaz, Father, 233, 235
Fishing fleet of Brittany, 210
Flacourt, de, Governor of Madagascar, 222
Fomboni, 239
Foncier Crédit, 21
Foncin, Mousieur. Estimate of Guiana, 191
Fonta Djalon, 33
Forgemol, General, 281
Fort Louis, Guadaloupe, captured by British, 170
Forty-third Regiment. Guadaloupe, 174
Foulepointe, 225, 228
Fournier, M., concludes peace with China, 122
France, Isle de, blockaded by English, 45
Fraser, Colonel, at Réunion, 52
Freemantle, Admiral, 274
French. The Navy opposed to Republicanism, 44
French privateer successes against English commerce, 44
Further India, 114; annexation of eastern portion by French, 122; agriculture, 129; trade, 131; finance, 132

Gabes, 268
Gaboni, 39
Gaboon, 38
Galam, 26
Gallas, Soudanese tribe, 257
Gambier islands, 99

Garlies, Lord, at Guadaloupe, 174
Garnier in Madagascar, 248
„ Tonkin, 120
Garnier, Mount, 138
Garrisons of Senegal, 37; Martinique, 159; Guadaloupe, 190; French Guiana, 206
George III., 272
Gia Dinh ceded to France, 119
Gialong, King of Cochin-China, 116
Goa, 219
Godavery, 81
Golconda, 78
Gold in French Guiana, 204
Goletta, 269
Gonneville, Paulmier de, visits Africa, 3
Governor North, The, 49
Governors-General, 7
Grand Bassam, 33
Grant, General, 139
Granville, 210
„ Earl, on useless protestations, 97, 251
Grasse de, Admiral, commanded expedition against British West India, 140
Grenada given up to British, 139; surrendered by Lord Macartney to French, 140
Grenoble, 77
Grey, Sir C., Expedition against Martinique, 142; expedition against Guadaloupe, 174
Gros Morne, 150
Guadaloupe, 162; early occupation, 162; declared a Royal possession, 164; arrival of Dutch refugees, 165; occupied by British, 166; outbreak of war, 167; British attack on, 168; heroism of French, 170; surrendered to British, 172; retroceded to France, 173; civil war, 173; retaken by British, 174; retaken by French, 175; recaptured by British, 176; ceded to Sweden, 177; final cession to France, 177; topography, 177; Grande Terre, 178; population, 132; immigration, 183; police, 183; government and administration, 183; education, 185; clergy, 186; public works, 186; cultivation, 186; commerce, 188; finance, 189; taxation and garrison, 190
Guiana, 191; present condition, 191; discovery and settlement, 192; captured by allied British and Portuguese; 195; restored to France, 196; population, 197; education, 198; government and administration, 198; justice, 199; public works, 199; agriculture, 200; arboriculture, 203; cattle-raising, 203; gold-mining, 203; commerce, 204; finance, 206; garrison and defence, 206
Gulf of Aden, 256

Haidar Ali, 83
Haiphong, 260
Hanka, 98
Hanoi captured by French, 121
Han Tien ceded to France, 119
Hapou, 98
Harcourt, Comte d', visits New Caledonia, 104
Harcourt, General. Capture of Guadaloupe, 176
Harmand, 127
Hatutou, 98
Haviland, General, 139
Haye, de la. Expedition to Madagascar, 224
Helle, Admiral, 61
Helleville, 65
Henri IV. encourages Colonial policy, 3; grants patents to Governors-General of Canada and East Indies, 3

Hermitage, ship, 76
Higginson, Governor, 237
Highlanders' capture of Fort Louis, 170; of Petit Bourg, Goyave, and St. Mary's, 172
Hirondelle, The, commanded by Lemême, 48
Hislop, General. Capture of Guadaloupe, 176
Hivaoa annexed by French, 95, 98
Hobson, General. Attack on Martinique, 136; attack on Guadaloupe, 168; death of, 171
Holland. Treaty with Tunis, 273
Holy Land, The, 266
Hood, Admiral. Engagements with de Grasse, 141; blockade of Fort Royal, 144
Houailon, 109
Houet, M., aided Marquis de Boisseret to occupy Guadaloupe, 164
Houssain Ben Ali, 271
Hovas, The, 227
Hubertsberg, Treaty of, 139
Hué bombarded and captured by French, 121; Treaty of, 122
Huguenot Émigrés. Flight from Cayenne, 193
Hugues, Victor. Attempt to reconquer West Indian Islands for France, 143; defeats British at Guadaloupe, 175; gallant defence of Cayenne, 195

Industries of East Indies, 91
Intendants, Abuses by, 7
Iron mines in New Caledonia, 111
Islands in the Pacific, 94
Isle of Dogs Lighthouse, 214

Jacques Cartier, The, 46
Java, 3
Java Company, 3
Jean Bart, The, 45
Jean de Luz, Saint, harbour of the Basque Provinces, 209
Jervis, Sir J. Expedition against Martinique, 142; Guadaloupe, 174
Jesuit Missionaries. In Martinique, 134; in Madagascar, 225; in the Comores Islands, 239
Jews. Flight from Cayenne, 193
Johnstone, Captain, in Madagascar, 250
Jongoni, 70
Jouen, Père, 238
Justice in Senegal, 33; Réunion, 56; Nossi Bé, 64; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 67; Mayotte, 71; East Indies, 88; Tahiti, 101; New Caledonia, 109; Further India, 128; Martinique, 150; Guadaloupe, 183; French Guiana, 199; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 213

Kalarun, 79
Kanala, 109
Karikal, 81
Keatinge, Colonel, at descent on Réunion; capture of Rodriguez, 51; of Bourbon, 52
Kef, 280
Kent, The, captured by Surcouf, 47
Khairwan, 284
Khamirs, The, 282
Khasso, 30
Kitts, St., taken by French, 141
Koeni, 70
Kouron River, 194
Kroumirs, 279

Laborde, Monsieur, 233
La Bourdonnais' successes in India, 82.

Lally-Tollendal besieges Madras, 82; defeated by Sir Eyre Coote, 83
Lambert, Henri, in Obock, 257
Lambert, Monsieur, in Madagascar, 235
Lapierre, Admiral, bombards Tourane, 117
Lastelle, de, 233
Laurent, St., 219
Laurent, St., The, 221
Lavigerie, Cardinal, 275
Lemême, the Corsair, 43; his successes, 48
Leroy, 221
Lesseps, Monsieur de, 258
Loans contracted by colonies must first receive Ministerial sanction, 15; by colonial banks, how restricted, 19.
Local Budgets, how adjusted, 14
Loiret, The, 246
Louis, Saint, offers shelter to privateers, 43
Louis, St., The, 220
Loyalty Isles, 104
Lucia, Isle of St., given up to British, 139; surrendered to French, 140

Macartney, Lord, 140
MacNair, Colonel. Taking of Fort George, 146
Madagascar, 217
Magdala, 260
Mahomedans in the Comores Islands, 239
Mahomed-es-Sadib, 277
Mahdi Al Agni, 30
Mahdi of Khartoum, 257
Mahé, 81
Maitland, General. Recapture of Martinique, 146
Malacca, 3
Malartie, Governor of Mauritius, 47
Malleson's History of the French in India, 81
Malo, St., home of privateers, 43; fishing fleets of, 210
Malouet, M., visits Cayenne, 194
Malrousse, 49
Mangafiala, Madagascar, 221
Mangles, captured by Surcouf, 48
Marco Polo. Reference to Madagascar, 218
Marie Galante, Island of, 179
Marie, Ste., de Madagascar, 66, 228
Marines. Capture of Fort Louis, 170
Marlborough, Duke of, defeated at St. Malo, 167
Maroni River, Guiana, 191
Marquesas Isles, 94, 98
Martin, St., Island of, 180
Martin's gallant conduct in India, 78; founds Pondicherry, 79
Martinique, 133; population, 148; government and administration, 148; finance, 150; justice, 150; education, 152; public works, 154; cultivation, 156; commerce, 157; taxation, 159
Mascarenhas discovers Réunion, 42
Massowah, 259
Masulipatam, 80
Matam, 31
Maures, 28
Maurice, Lieutenant. Defence of Diamond Rock, 145
Mauritius, Island of, 218
Mayotte annexed by French, 69; population, 70; commerce, 71
Mazarin, 76
Meadows, General. Heroic defence of St. Domingo, 140
Medina, 30.
Mediterranean, Tunis key of, 264
Méhala River, 233
Meilleraye, Duke de la, takes possession of Madagascar, 222

Melgund, Lord, 52
Melville, Major, gallantry of, 171
Menuthia, 218
Micawby, The, captured by Surcouf, 47
Mindanao discovers Tahiti, 94
Mines in New Caledonia, 111
Minh Mang, King of Cochin-China, 116
Minto, Lord, organizes expedition to reduce Isles of France and Bourbon, 51
Miquelon, Island of, 207; early occupation, 207; taken by English, 208; fishing fleets of, 209; population, 212; justice, 213; education, public works, and agriculture, 214; commerce, 215; finance, 216
Mohély, 239
Mondevergue, de. Expedition to Madagascar, 223
Monkton, General. Expedition against Martinique, 138
Montague, Admiral, at St. Pierre and Miquelon, 208
Montcalm, General, 8
Montmorency, Comte de, 267
Montserrat taken by French, 141
Moore, Commodore. Martinique, 136; Guadaloupe, 168
Morea, 99
Morne Tarançon, 136
Morocco, 273, 286
Motàni, 98
Motuitu, 98
Moule, Port of, Guadaloupe, 179
Mount Garnier, 138
Munro captures Pondicherry, 84
Murray, Lord. Capture of Fort Louis, 170
Mytho ceded to France, 119

Napoleon the Great, 273
„ the Third, 277
Navarre, King of, 267
Necker, 194
Nemours, Comte de, 267
Nevis, Island of, taken by French, 141
New Caledonia, 94; details of colony, 103
New Endeavour, ship, captured by Surcouf, 48
Newfoundland visited by Cartier, 3; fisheries, 208
Nickel mines in New Caledonia, 111
Niger to be connected with Senegal, 32
Ninetieth Regiment, 147, 176
Ninety-third Regiment at capture of Guadaloupe, 174
Normandy, Fishing fleets of, 210
Nossi Bé occupied by French, 60; annexation by Captain Passot, 61; rising of natives, 62; government, 64; commerce, 65
Nossi Faly, 301
Noukahive annexed by France, 95, 98
Noumea, Terrible condition of, 105

Obock. Situation, 256; population and climate, 257; French connection, 257; natural wealth, 259; commercial and military value, 261
Oceania, 94
Olive, Colonel, commanded expedition against Guadaloupe, 163
Onégoa, 109
Orient, The, captured by Surcouf, 48
Orinoco, 193
Osborne, Captain, blockades the Isle of France, 45
Osyevas, 39
Ouala, 28
Oualoo, 27
Oulema, 28

Pacific, Islands in the, 94
Pakenham, Colonel. Capture of Isle de Ramiers, 146
Pardaillan captures Mahé, 81
Parmia, Lake, 204
Passot, Captain, annexes Nossi Bé, 61, 231
Patouhoukou, 98
Patouhiva, 98
Pellissier, Marshal, 269
Penguin, The, captured by Surcouf, 46
Perambúkan, Col. Baillie defeated at, 84
Perim, 254
Perle, The, 239
Peron, 133
Persian trade with Madagascar, 218
Phebol, 218
Philastre, in Tonkin, 120, 127
Philip the Hardy, King of France, in Tunis, 267
Piampol, Harbour of, 210
Pichegru exiled to Cayenne, 194
Pierre, Admiral, 250
Pierre, St., and Miquelon. Early occupation, &c., 207; fishing industry, 209; population, 212; justice, 213; education, public works and agriculture, 214; commerce, 215; finance, 216
Pierre, St., capital of Martinique, attacked by British, 139
Pigneau de Behaine. Views on value of Cochin-China to France, 114
Pine islands, 104
Plate, Sainte, Lighthouse, 214
Pliny. Knowledge of Madagascar, 218
Podor, 29
Point Dauphin, 221
Point de Nègre, 136
Pointe-à Pitre, chief town of Grande Terre, Guadaloupe, 178
Poivre, M., 202
Polo, Marco, 218
Pomare, King of Tahiti, cedes his kingdom to the French, 97
Pondicherry, 79
Population of Senegal, 34; Réunion, 53; Nossi Bé, 64; Ste. Marie de Madagascar, 67; Mayotte, 70; East Indies, 80; Tahiti, 99; New Caledonia, 108; Further India, 124; Martinique, 148; Guadaloupe, 182; French Guiana, 197; St. Pierre and Miquelon, 212
Porta Farina bombarded, 270
Port Dauphin, 219
Port Royal attacked by British, 136
Portuguese. Rediscovery of Madagascar, 219
Pothau, Admiral, 127
Potier, his success as a Corsair, 50
Précepteurs des Contributions, 17
Preedy, 143
Prevost, General Sir George. Recapture of Martinique, 146
Prince de Mombany, Lemême captured in, 48
Princess Royal, 49
Pritchard, Consul in Tahiti, 96
Pronis, de, founds colony in Madagascar, 220
Protestantism, a Jesuit missionary's views on, 229.
Ptolemy. Knowledge of Madagascar, 218
Public works in Senegal, 33; Réunion, 56; Tahiti, 101; New Caledonia, 110; Further India 129; Martinique, 154; Guadaloupe, 186; French Guiana, 199 St. Pierre and Miquelon, 214

Radama I., King of Madagascar 227
Radama II., King of Madagascar 240

Raiateia, 99
Raivavai, 99
Rakoto, Prince of Madagascar, 235
Rambodo, 244
Ramoma, 248
Ranavolana, Queen of Madagascar, 228
Ranavolana II., Queen of Madagascar, 248
Rapa, 99
Rasoherina, Queen of Madagascar, 245
Reade, Sir Thomas, 276
Receipts in Colonies, how adjusted, 13
Receipts extraordinary, 15
Receveurs des Contributions, 17
Récidivists, 105; Bill for their deportation, 107
Red River, the, of Tonkin, 120
Red Sea, 258
Religion, Administration of, in Senegal, 35; Réunion, 56; Pacific Islands, 101; Further India, 129; Martinique, 153; Guadaloupe, 186.
Republic III., Colonies grouped under, 10
Reserve Funds, 15
Réunion, its discovery, 42; capture of by English, 52; population, 53; government and administration, 54; justice, 56; cultivation and commerce, 57; finances, 59
Revardière, Monsieur La, 192
Revenant, the privateer, 47
Revolution, outbreak of, interferes with French projects in the East, 116
Rice, Produce of, in Cochin China, 130
Richardais, 43
Richelieu, Cardinal, authorizes colonization of St. Christopher and Barbadoes, 162; aided colonization of Guiana, 192; establishment of La Société d'Orient, 220
Rigault de Genouilly captures Saigon, 118
Rimatara, 99
Rivière, in Tonkin, 121
Roche, de la, made Governor of Canada, 3
Rodney, Admiral. Expedition against Martinique, 138
Rodriguez captured by Commodore Rowley, 51
Rooke, Admiral Sir George. Descent on Guadaloupe, 166
Rossy, du, authorized to develop West Indies, 6
Rouen, Merchants of, 3
Rouroutu, 99
Roustan, Monsieur, 281
Roux, Sylvain de, 228
Rowley, Captain, daring descent on Réunion, 51
Royal, The, 221
Ryan, Bishop, 247

Saigon captured by French, 117; endowed with municipal institutions, 122
Saint Domingo successfully defended against French, 140
Saint Louis, capital of Senegal, 27
Saintes, Island of, 179
Sakalaves, 232
Salmon, Monsieur, 258
Sapinette, 215
Saussier, General, 283
Schewbel, Monsieur, 276
Schmaltz, Governor of Senegal, 27
San Pietro, 273
Sardinia, 273
Seine, The, 239
Senegal. Early connection with France, 23; Company of, formed in 1573, 25; captured by Eng-

lish, 26; restored, and retaken and restored, 27; French troubles in, 27; boundaries of, 32; public works in, 33; justice, 34; education, 35; agriculture and commerce, 35; finances, 36; garrison, 37
Serendib, Persian name of Madagascar, 218
Sfax, 273
Sicily. War with Tunis, 268
Sidi Mustapha, 276
Sinan Pasha, corsair, 269
Société d'Orient, La, 220
Solages, de, 230
Somali, 256
Somali country, 260
Sontay captured by French, 122
Spain. Treaty with Tunis, 273
Stamboul, 26
Suakin, 259
Suarez, Fernando. Rediscovery of Madagascar, 219
Subvention,
Success, The, captured by Surcouf, 48
Suez Canal, 253
Suffren, 45
Sugar, acreage under cultivation in French colonies, 312
Surat, 80
Surcouf, his successes in Indian Ocean, 45
Surcouf, The, despatch boat, 258
Susa, 272
Susanna captured by Surcouf, 48
Sybil, H.M.S., captures Lemême, 49
Symes, Colonel, 142
Syracuse, Bishop of, 268

Tabarca, 271
Tadjourah, 260
Taeping Rebellion, 120
Tahiti, 94
Tahuata annexed by France, 95
Talangar, Madagascar, 221
Tamatave, 228
Tanata, 98
Tanjore, 78
Taxation in Martinique, 159
Temano, King, surrenders his power to France, 95.
Thibault of Navarre in Tunis, 267
Thiers converts New Caledonia into a penal colony, 105
Thomé, St., 78
Thien-Tri, 116
Tintaque, 228
Tirailleurs of Senegal and Annam, 290
Tonkin, 114; war in, 121
Touho, 109
Tourane bombarbed by French, 117
Tours, 77
Trafalgar, The, captured by Surcouf, 48
Trazaas, 30
Trincomalee, 78
Tripoli, 286
Tristan d'Acunha, 219
Tristan, Prince, Death of, 267
Triton captured by Surcouf, 47
Tsimandrobe, 231
Tsiomeko, Queen of Nossi Bé, 231
Tsong-li-Yamen recognized French protectorate over Annam, 122
Tuamotu, 96
Tubuai, 99
Tu Duc, King of Annam, 117
Tunis, 264; French action in, 264; early history, 265; landing of Louis IX., 267; treaty with France, Sicily and Navarre, 267; piracy, 268; war with Sicily, 268; conquered by Charles V., 269; Turkish invasion, 269; European Powers in, 272; International Financial Commission, 277; French supremacy, 283

Uni, privateer, commanded by Lemême, 49

Vaʼssière, de la, 229
Varennes exiled to Cayenne, 194
Vendome, Comte de, death of, 267
Venice. Treaty with Tunis, 273
Victor, The, 233
Vienne, Jean de, 268
Villaret Joyeuse, Admiral. Withdrawal to Fort Dessaix, 146; surrenders Martinique, 147
Ville de Bordeaux, The, commanded by Lemême, 48
Villeneuve, Admiral. Capture of Diamond Rock, 145
Villot, Captain, on Tunis, 285
Vinh Mong ceded to France, 119

Waddington, Monsieur, 251
Wall, General. Capture of Guadaloupe, 176
Walthamstow, Lemême dies on board, 49
Wellesley, Lord, determines on reduction of Isle of France and Bourbon, 50
Willoughby, Captain, at capture of Réunion, 53
Winchelsea, The, 174

Yest, Captain. Attack and capture of Cayenne, 195
Yotete, 95
Yunaon purchased by French, 82
Yunnan, 120

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